

A HISTORY OF
KIGEZI
IN SOUTH-WEST UGANDA



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by

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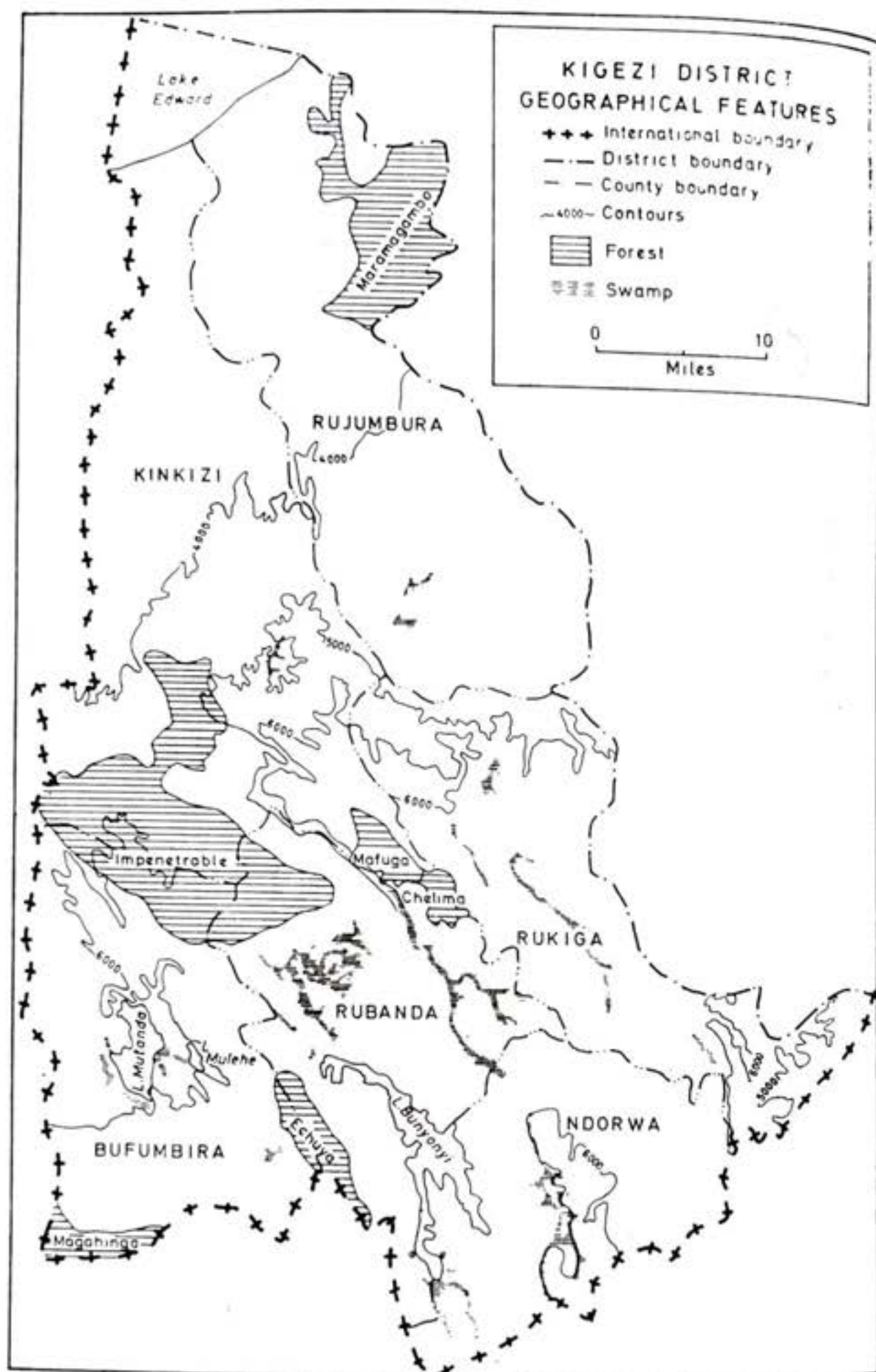
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A HISTORY OF KIGEZI

Introduction: Kigezi, her historians, and her history.

Kigezi is a triangular wedge of territory in the extreme South West of Uganda, bordering upon Rwanda to the South and the Republic of Zaire to the West. Within its Land area of 1,900 square miles live some 642,000 people, so that the district has one of the highest densities of population in Uganda. In this respect, as in many other geographical and social respects, Kigezi resembles the republic of Rwanda, whence much of the population has come, in relatively recent times.

Within this restricted area there are an astonishing variety of geographical zones. In the extreme South-West are extinct volcanoes: the highest of these, Muhavura, rises to 13,500 feet, while two others — Sabinio and Mgahinga — each exceed 11,000 ft.; less than seventy miles North, at the apex of the triangle, lies Lake Edward which is less than 3,000 ft. above sea level. Between these two uninhabitable extremes lie four clearly differentiated regions. The extreme South-West, Bufumbira county below the Mufumbiro mountains, comprises open pasture-land interspersed by lake Mutanda and by a number of steep hills. Both agriculture and extensive pastoralism have been practiced in this region. Secondly, the rest of southern Kigezi — Rukiga, Rubanda and Ndorwa counties — comprises irregular ranks of steep hills, running roughly from South-East to North West. Between these serried ranks are water courses, some of which (like lake Bunyonyi) are substantial areas of open water, but most of which are swamps, which have only recently been cleared and made available for cultivation. These congested rows of hill and swamps lend themselves to intensive cultivation, and leave little opportunity for cattle-keeping on a large scale. The broken country of southern Kigezi is separated from Bufumbira by the Echuya forest: It is separated from northern Kigezi by the Impenetrable forest and by the largest river of the region, the Minera which drains into lake Edward. Northern Kigezi — Rujumbura county and most of Kinkizi — differs sharply from the South. An annual average rainfall of 30 to 40 inches makes it much drier than the South, which expects an annual rainfall of 40 to 70 inches. The countryside is much more even and open, and lends itself to extensive pastoralism. Near lake Edward, until very recently, human and animal diseases restricted human population very severely. This area is now part of Queen Elizabeth National Park and the Kigezi Game Reserve. Fourth, and finally, the forests which separate the other three regions from each other, used to offer a suitable habitat to hunting and gathering peoples. The Impenetrable Forest, however, has been infiltrated by agricultural peoples who have cleared areas of cultivation.

Naturally the ecology of Kigezi has had a profound influence upon the economic activities of its inhabitants. For several centuries Kigezi has attracted immigrants from the west, and from the south especially. The relatively dense populations of the Rwanda region have found Kigezi admirably suited to their needs, offering scope for both agriculture and pastoralism. Cattle-keeping people, and a sparse agricultural population, occupied much of Kigezi by the seventeenth century at the latest. During the eighteenth century immigration continued, and an immigrant cattle-keeping group — the Bashambo, from Rwanda — established the short-lived Mpororo kingdom in eastern and northern Kigezi, a state which was similar to both Rwanda and Nkore, comprising a pastoralist caste superimposed upon an agricultural population. At the end of the century the kingdom fragmented, but the north-ward movement persisted, and the most durable of the successor states was established in Rujumbura, while others gradually succumbed to pressure of in-coming population.

Meanwhile both pastoralists and agriculturalists flowed into Bufumbira, from the Congo and Rwanda directions, and practiced their economic specialties much as they probably did before they came. Ultimately, and especially during the nineteenth century, a dense population of agriculturalists moved into the south-central area, expelling or absorbing the sparse pastoralist population which they found there. Much of this movement is directly attributable to the expansion of the kingdom of Rwanda, which dislocated groups of people and induced them to migrate northwards. At the very end of the nineteenth century Rwanda reached Kigezi itself. Authority was established firmly — though briefly — in Bufumbira, which remains a Runyarwanda-speaking region. Raids were launched into southern and even northern Kigezi, though no effective political control was established. The rulers of Rwanda, being cattle-keeping people, presumably found it difficult to establish their rule in an area ill-suited to cattle; and Rujumbura was too far away from the Rwanda kingdom to be effectively controlled. When the British arrived in 1908, therefore, they discovered a Runyarwanda-speaking enclave in the extreme South-West. Elsewhere the people spoke Rukiga or Ruhororo, which may be regarded as dialectical variations of Runyankore. Obsessed by notions of tribalism, the British naturally divided the Kigezi population into three tribal categories: the Banyarwanda of Bufumbira, the Bakiga of "Rukiga" (a Runyarwanda term meaning "the mountains"), and the Bahororo (from the Mpororo kingdom) in Rujumbura. These categories have become a part of Kigezi's consciousness.

The arrival of the British, and the partition of the region into Belgian, German and British dependencies, did not bring the migration process to an end. Until the 1930's, the Kigezi population grew at a much faster pace than the Uganda average, helped by its immunity from malaria, but also assisted by further immigration from the south. From the 1930's onwards, the rate of population growth in Kigezi dropped below the Uganda average, as the country approached a saturation point. Immigration northwards from Rwanda has been counter-balanced by emigration northwards into Ankole, and eventually into Toro and Bunyoro and Buganda. The

district economy is almost exclusively agricultural. Although improved agricultural techniques have been introduced and adopted, and although swamps have been cleared for the cultivation of vegetables for the Kampala and overseas markets, young men and young families still tend to move out of Kigezi to seek land or employment elsewhere.

Geographical circumstances, which have influenced population movements and economic activities, have also influenced the social and political institutions of the inhabitants. Bufumbira, which resembles central Rwanda in its mixture of pastures and arable hill-sides, developing a social and political system which also resembled that of Rwanda. The Batusi cattle-keepers, during the late nineteenth century, established their political and social superiority over the Bahutu cultivators, who in turn looked down upon the few Batwa hunters and gatherers in the forest regions. Ultimately Bufumbira became incorporated into the Rwanda kingdom as well, though the connection was severed once British Bufumbira was separated from German Rwanda. In Rujumbura, which is very similar geographically to Ankole, a similar social and political system developed, whereby the Bashambo aristocracy achieved dominance over other pastoralists; the Bahima pastoralists as a whole achieved dominance over the Bairu cultivators; and the size and nature of the system invites comparison with pre-colonial Ankole. Rujumbura was not absorbed into the colonial district of Ankole (which was an expanded form of pre-colonial Nkore), but the social and economic and political similarities have continued.

In southern Kigezi — once known as Bushengyera, and later as Rukiga, but now divided into the three counties of Rukiga, Ndorwa and Rubanda, — the relationship between geographical factors and socio-political systems is very obvious indeed. Most of the hills afford space for one extended family to live and to cultivate; a very few of the hills can accommodate a larger number of related families. Communication between the hills is extremely difficult because of the intervening swamps and the steep hill-sides. The consequence, it seems, was that each hill-top community regarded itself as sovereign and independent of everyone else. Small-scale political and social life inhibited the development of extensive political organisations, and only very exceptional individuals achieved influence over large numbers of people. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, three such individuals flourished: Muhumuza, the widow of a king of Rwanda; Katuregye, a military adventurer who allied himself with Batwa raiders to terrorise large areas of southern Kigezi; and Ntokiibiri, a Muhunde from the Congo, who attempted to mobilise resistance to colonial rule during the First World War. Neither of these three created a durable political system, though it is possible that the intervention of the colonial powers may have influenced events to their own advantage, and against the interests of the three individuals concerned. In each of these cases the religious cult of Nyabingi was involved, which suggests that some powerful ideological force (such as Nyabingi) was a necessary instrument for overcoming the isolationism of each self-contained hill-top community.

In and around the Impenetrable forest were a series of extremely small political systems. The rulers of these petty states all seem to have possessed drums of office, and therefore they should be described as kings despite the small scale of their operations. In several respects the rituals of kingship are reminiscent of the Congo, which is not surprising when one recollects that these states border onto the Zaire republic now, and must have been open to Congolese influence in the past. Little is yet known about these states, but the son of the last king of Kayonza (probably the most important) has contributed a chapter to the present volume. Until such time as further research is conducted, we may provisionally assume that his description of the history and rituals of Kayonza would also apply to the neighbouring kingdoms in pre-colonial times. In brief, the unusual social and political systems along the western border of Kigezi complete a picture of diverse political systems, whose diversity is at least partly the result of varied ecological zones compressed within a very small land area.

Kigezi's Historians.

The present volume is the result of a project sponsored by the then Milton Obote Foundation, supported by the History department of Makerere University, and executed by a large number and variety of local historians. We acknowledge with profound gratitude the assistance of the Foundation. First, it financed a conference in Makerere which gathered together local historians from throughout Uganda, in December 1969. Next, and arising out of proposals made during the conference, the Foundation financed a local conference of Kigezi historians in Kabale at Easter 1970. When the Kabale conference decided to compile a History of Kigezi, the Foundation under-took to subsidise the research costs and to publish the results. Despite considerable difficulties, the Foundation has kept its promises and has unfailingly encouraged the participants in the project. Without such generous aid, this volume could not have been written.

The Kabale conference confirmed a fact which had previously been suspected; that Kigezi possessed unusual resources and talents for the experiment of a collaborative History. Twenty-three people attended the conference. Proceedings were in vernacular, a decision which now seems to have been the most important single innovation of the whole project. Elders of the district, who are not at all fluent in English, were able to speak on equal terms with young men and women, and were able to express themselves with great force and effect. The essential quality of the project — that it is Kigezi history written by Kigezi people — was underlined by the fact that all participants equally could join in the planning of the research and of the final product.

As a matter of convenience, we may divide the participants and contributors into four categories, each of which brought unique talents and resources into the experiment. First six men may be regarded as Kigezi elders: Messrs Paulo Ngologoza, O.B.E., a former county chief, secretary-general of Kigezi district, and author of *Kigezi and its People*; F. Karwe-

mera, who has spent many years fostering local literature and collecting local traditions, and who is the author of *The Bakiga*; Mr. Zakayo Rwandusya, a retired chief and the leading authority on the history of Bufumbira county; Mr. M.M.R. Rwankwenda, also a retired chief, like Mr. Rwandusya one of the first scholars to attend school in Kigezi, and the son of the last hereditary king of Kayonza; Mr. S.B. Ndebesa, a civil servant from Kinkizi, who has devoted much of his time to recording social customs; and Mr. Karaaza, universally allowed to be an historical monument, or alternatively an oral library of Rukiga history. Most of these six elders, and indeed some other elders who have since died, have shown a great awareness of the necessity for recording historical information before everyone forgets it. They lack professional training as historians, but their knowledge and enthusiasm defy description. Only Messrs Karwemera and Rwankwenda write fluently in English, and Mr. Karaaza cannot write at all. Nevertheless they have all compiled sections of this book, and have been more than generous in sharing their special knowledge with other contributors.

The second category, comprising three individuals, might be described as elders also, except that they have a much wider experience beyond Kigezi's boundaries, than the first group. Mr. E.N. Bisamunyu is one of the first graduates of Makerere, at the time of the conference he was a member of the Uganda parliament, and he is now a senior administrator in the East African Railways at Mombasa. His university training has given him a great respect for, and a great capacity for using, documentary sources of history. Mr. Kyikabahenda, also a Makerere graduate and now a senior school teacher, helped in designing the programme but was not able to contribute a section. Father Geraud is firmly within the tradition of White Fathers amateur historians, who pioneered the writing of pre-colonial African history half a century before professional historians followed their example. Mr. Bisamunyu's intimate knowledge of European history was matched by Father Geraud's intimate knowledge of the written sources on the history of Rwanda. In both cases their 'outside' knowledge influenced their approach, and proved invaluable in providing perspectives for the Kigezi material.

The third group may be described as recent graduates, who have been exposed to the study of African History at University level, and they comprised a round dozen young men and women. Miss Foiba Biteete (who graduated in America) and Miss Kate Parry (who graduated in Cambridge) effectively insisted on consideration of the role of women in Kigezi history, and thereby influenced the composition of the book, though they were not able themselves to contribute. Mr. Charles Kabuga, the Resident Tutor of the Makerere Centre for Continuing Education, organised and chaired the conference with great efficiency and good humour. Messrs Anthony Munyuzangabo, Philemon Mateke, F. Bananuka-Rukara and Dominic Hab'Iya-lemye had all had experienced of field research as undergraduates at Makerere, and were able to offer useful advice on methods and problems likely to arise. Mr. S. R. Baitwababo, a graduate of Nairobi, had already won a prize for his research into the history of Rujumbura, and was

already registered as a post-graduate student of Makerere. His professional skills and local knowledge were freely made available to other participants. Messrs Frank Rukandema and Sam Kakiza were at that time involved in research for their graduating essays in the Makerere History department. Messrs Tumusiime Rujojo and especially Charles Gashumba, both at that time under-graduates, helped in a variety of ways: Mr. Gashumba's work as secretary and as translator of several contributions, has been exceptionally valuable. The group as a whole tended to oppose some of the older participants, who tended to be dubious of the value of oral evidence; yet their obvious respect for the Kigezi elders enabled the discussions to proceed amicably and in the end usefully. To this group should be added Mr. D.Z. Rwabihigi, who was unable to attend the conference, but who independently submitted a scholarly biography of chief Katuregye.

Finally, Dr. Samwiri Karugire and myself may be said to belong to a fourth group, namely professional historians who have no other means of livelihood. We both restricted our role to that of advisors. Dr. Karugire's thesis, on the traditional history of Nkore, and his fluency in Rukiga, enabled him to offer most helpful advice to participants: and at a later stage of the project, when I was unavoidably away from Uganda, he proved invaluable in preserving the momentum of the individual contributors. My own function at the conference was to advise on the problems of finance and publication; and since then to edit the work and mediate between the publishers and the contributors. Contributions began to be submitted in July 1970, and continued to appear until as late as October 1971.

The reader should by now appreciate the novel character of the whole project. It is generally assumed that one professional historian should enter a district, seek information from local elders, take the information away, and publish it as his own work in a book which is inaccessible to the people who provided the information. We have tried, as far as possible, to escape from that method. With the exception of this introductory chapter, and one other chapter by the editor, the people of Kigezi have written their own book, for their own interest. It should also be of interest to others, of course, and (as the only non-resident contributor) I may suggest that the book is no worse for having been written by the people themselves, and that in some respects it gives a stronger flavour of Kigezi society than is normal in a more professional publication. In short, the volume does not require defence.

Kigezi's History.

A composite volume, comprising the interpretations of a very diverse group of contributors, probably does require some introductory comment, in order to guide the reader through quantities of detail, and to warn the reader of what to expect. It also seems desirable to provide a skeleton account of Kigezi's history, so that the reader can judge where each piece of information 'belongs', and where it 'fits' into the general picture. The reader should be warned immediately, that what follows is an equally

personal interpretation: in History there are very seldom any final and unchallengeable judgements, and that is especially true in an area where the writing of History is in its infancy.

The twenty-one sections of the book have been grouped together in five parts, so that each part deals with a particular theme, and the themes appear in roughly chronological order. Some contributions do not lend themselves to such arbitrary handling, and therefore the divisions are by no means water-tight. Part one — Origins and Settlement of Kigezi — attempts to answer the related questions "who are the inhabitants of Kigezi, where did they come from, when did they arrive, and why did they migrate." Though we are certain that Kigezi was inhabited before 1700, little can be said about its inhabitants in that era. It seems reasonable to guess that the Batwa hunter-gatherers were more numerous and more widely dispersed then, than they were at any later time when agricultural settlement grew denser. We may also hazard an educated guess that pastoralists were more widely dispersed then, than at any later period, and for the same reason. Bufumbira was probably inhabited by small numbers of Bagahe and Bungura clans, and already by large numbers of Bakimbiri; the Kayonza region was probably inhabited by Bungura and Babanda, while a dynasty of Barengye immigrants from the South or West was probably establishing itself at that time. The rest of the district, that is to say Rujumbura and the three southern counties (which were then known as Bushengyera), seem to have been inhabited by both agriculturalists and pastoralists of the Bashengyera, Banyoni, Bagina and Baishekatwa clans. The Baishekatwa enjoyed a dominant position, and provided such political centralisation as existed at that time. The kingdom of Rwanda, under Mwami Yuhi 11 Mazimpaka, was still far distant, and unable to exert any influence in Kigezi. The states of Gisaka, Ndorwa and perhaps Karagwe were probably a more immediate threat to the independence and ease of the early inhabitants. Both Father Geraud and Mr. Rwandusya, in chapters one and two respectively, seem inclined to graft Kigezi history onto the semi-legendary court history of Rwanda, which leads them to propose much earlier dates of arrival, and a much closer involvement with the Banyiginya rulers, than is likely to have been the case. Nevertheless they are probably justified in asserting that much settlement in Kigezi was the consequence of political disputes further South, in the heavily populated region which has since been absorbed into the state of Rwanda. Political disputes would have hastened the migration of people who were in any case eager to seek new pastures and new arable land. Being more mobile, the pastoralists may well have migrated more readily than the agriculturalists.

Part two — Formation of States, and Inter-Clan Competition — considers the question "what institutions did the people develop once they arrived". The first, and by far the largest state in the area, was the kingdom of Mpororo, described by Mr. Baitwababo. Bashambo cattle-keepers migrated from Ndorwa (that is to say, from North-East Rwanda) early in the eighteenth century. They found the Baishekatwa being ruled by a woman, Kitami, and they were soon able to take control for them-

selves under Kahaya Rutindangyezi. Whether Kahaya was the son of Kitami or not, it was certainly convenient that he was believed to be, since that relationship tended to legitimise the take-over, and to smooth the transition. From roughly the 1740's until the 1770's Kahaya ruled an unprecedentedly large area, stretching over most of South-West Ankole, parts of North-East Rwanda, and most of Kigezi as well. Difficulties of communication in such a large state resulted in a great degree of local autonomy, whereby sons, other kinsmen, and even non-relatives established themselves as provincial governors. It is possible that Kahaya was defeated by the expanding state of Rwanda towards the ends of his reign. In any event as he grew older he exercised less control over his provincial governors, and the drum — the symbol of the unity of the kingdom — was lost. When Kahaya died (probably in the 1780's), the kingdom disintegrated, and power was seized by each of the local governors. Nakijunga probably a client of Kahaya in his old age — established himself in Bushengyera (i.e. in most of South-East Kigezi); Kagina — a son-in-law — retained power in Butaye (on the Rwanda-Ankole-Kigezi border); several groups contested power in Kajara and Rwampara; and one of these groups — the descendants of Kirenzi — seized and consolidated power in Rujumbura during the early nineteenth century. In short, one large kingdom was replaced by a series of petty principalities.

Meanwhile we may suppose that a series of small kingdoms had established themselves in and around the Impenetrable forest, using drums to consolidate their legitimacy, but not impinging upon the lives of people far beyond the forest region. Immigration probably continued by fits and starts, especially as Rwanda was once again expanding, under the leadership of Cyilima Rujugira and Kigeri III Ndabarasa, during the whole of the second half of the eighteenth century. It seems likely that, even at this early date, some of the small Mpororo successor states and even some of the forest kingdoms, were subject to irregular influence from the Banyiginya rulers. This was certainly the case in the early nineteenth century, when Bagyesera and Bazigaba refugees from Gisaka and Ndorwa fled from their hard-pressed kingdoms. Bahunde, from the west, swelled the numbers of immigrants, and probably contributed to the instability and small scale of local politics. Rujumbura, under Nyinamanyonyi, was becoming a significant state, and absorbing or subordinating neighbouring groups of people; but the power of Rujumbura by no means counter-balanced that of Rwanda. In the middle of the century, indeed, the ruler of Rujumbura was obliged to send his own son to Rwanda to pay tribute, and the son failed to return. Though Rujumbura established a local dominance in most of north-central Kigezi, she remained insignificant in inter-state rivalries until the end of the century, when an invasion from Nkore was successfully repulsed.

During the nineteenth century increasing numbers of agricultural immigrants altered the power structure of South-Central Kigezi. The pastoralist rulers found their territory infiltrated by agriculturalists, who were reluctant to accept the pretensions of the chiefs, and who envied them their land. Many immigrants were probably committed against the kind of authority

exercised by Batusi in Rwanda, and added an ideological dimension to their hostility. Matters were brought to a head by a large immigration of Basigi, during the second half of the century. They settled in large numbers at Kagarama (near present-day Kabale), whence they led the expulsion or absorption of the pastoral rulers during the 1880's. Meanwhile, in Bufumbira also during the 1880's, the authority of the Rwanda kingdom was being extended by a series of Batusi chiefs, and an alliance with a local group of Basinga clansmen. Separatists were conquered by a combination of Batusi and Batwa, and by the time of Rwabugiri's death (c 1895), Bufumbira was a reliable base for further raids into the rest of Kigezi. In short, political centralisation was being accomplished in the North and in the South-West but in the centre the impact of agricultural settlers had the effect of setting up local descent groups as virtually sovereign on each hill-top. Only at the very end of the pre-colonial era did a Mukiga—Katuregye, son of two spirit mediums — establish his sway over a significant area, and even he does not seem to have envisaged a regular state-system.

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, were a period of unusual violence and dislocation. Rujumbura, having been attacked by Nkore and Rwanda, survived but with diminished man-power and cattle resources. The small kingdoms within Rujumbura's "sphere of interest" were plagued by refugees fleeing from disturbances further South and further West, where Belgian activity was increasing. The other successor states of Mpororo were devastated by warfare between Nkore and Rwanda, since the war was fought in order to control the good pastures and fine herds of cattle in that region. The pastoral chiefs having been expelled from most of southern Kigezi, something of a power vacuum developed, since the Bakiga cultivators operated a series of tiny self-contained descent-groups. Most important, political trouble in Rwanda spilled over into neighbouring regions. After the death of Kigeri IV Rwabugiri in about 1895, Mwami Mibambwe IV succeeded, only to be ousted by force in 1896 by Yuhi V Musinga, at the head of Beega clan. The loyalty of Bufumbira to the new regime was rather dubious at best. To complicate matters further, one of Rwabugiri's widows, Muhumuza, arrived in the northern extremities of Rwanda to rally support for her son Buregeya, who was also a candidate for the Rwanda throne. To enhance her appeal, she purported to be a personification of Nyabingi, a legendary queen who was the object of veneration among large numbers of Banyarwanda and Bakiga. Katuregye and another adventurer named Bassebya placed themselves at the head of Batwa raiders, and took advantage of the troubled situation to pillage large parts of Southern Kigezi. Muhumuza was briefly detained by the Germans in Rwanda, but was not finally taken out of circulation until 1911, when the British dispersed her forces and sent her to detention in Kampala. During these disturbances cultivation lapsed, and drought intensified everyone's predicament, so that famine ensued and large numbers of people evacuated southern Kigezi for more peaceful places further north. Kigezi when the British arrived was in a state of unusual excitement and violence.

In part three, contributors turn their attention to the Alien Impact of Colonial rule and Christianity in the early years of the twentieth century. The memoirs of Ssebalijja, the Muganda chief who largely created the colonial hierarchy in Kigezi, have been included in order to provide one view of the situation which he encountered. The hostility of the local people eventually focussed upon Ssebalijja and his colleagues (rather than the British themselves, who were largely un-seen), and in order to balance Ssebalijja's memoirs, a powerful criticism of the Baganda officials has been included. The alien impact, however, was not merely political. Christian evangelists and colonial administrators worked very closely together and indeed each saw his function as complementary to the other. One of the effects of the alien impact was to encourage belief in a 'golden age' before the intrusion; and Mr. Ndebesa's chapter is a perfect example of that genre. Despite Bakiga criticism of the Baganda agents, and despite Baganda criticisms of the local inhabitants, the real beneficiaries and directors of operations were of course the British. A point which the editor's chapter attempts to make is that the British deliberately turned Bakiga hostility away from themselves, by making the Baganda the dispensable scape-goats of the early period of conquest and skirmish.

Part four surveys the reactions of the local people, to the alien impact. In Rujumbura, the ruler - Makobore - needed to influence the British in order to repel the advances of the enemy Nkore: yet the presence of the British steadily undermined his traditional authority. He was retired in 1920 and replaced by his son E. S. Karegyesa, the perfect example of a 'modernising colonial chief'; and the contrast between Makobore and his son is almost a microcosm of the changes taking place throughout Uganda at that time. Similarly in Bufumbira, the traditional ruler Nyindo defected to the Germans during the First World War, and after some inept British experiments with other 'traditional' chiefs, 'modernising' chiefs were employed, who satisfied colonial administrative requirements. Chiefs began to represent the British to the people, rather than the people to the British; and the tone of administration seems to have become harsher - though more predictable - as a result. Many of the modernisers were products of the first school in the district, who ultimately replaced Baganda chiefs in responsible positions. The illuminating memoirs of one such chief - Mr. Rwandusya - have been included; and the latter parts of Mr. Rwankwenda's chapter (number six) provide a similar account.

If part three made the point that colonialism and Christianity were intimately connected, then part four states the corollary, that anti-colonial resistance was intimately involved with rejection of Christianity, and that the influence of the Nyabingi cult was prominent in mobilising resistance and co-ordinating action against both aspects of the new regime. The early resistance of the Bakiga, the mis-understandings between the British and the Basigi clan leaders, and the ultimate acquiescence in the colonial situation, were all associated with shifts in religious belief amongst the various Kigezi people involved.

Finally, in part five, contributors deal with the entry of Kigezi into a new set of relationships. The ties with Rwanda were loosened by the partition of Africa; and eventually Kigezi became an intrinsic part of Uganda. This process was slower than one might expect. Colonial administrators did not encourage people to think of themselves as Ugandans, and each district administration was to a great extent a viable entity. Consciousness of the existence of 'Uganda' therefore developed very slowly, despite the increasing administrative and economic links which bound Kigezi into its new alignment. Severely local politics continued unabated, and were indeed intensified by the democratisation of the district council during the 1940's and 1950's. Mr. Ngologoza, who was prominent throughout the period from 1920's to the present day, gives a revealing account of his own impressions of the changes which took place. The two letters appended at the end of the volume indicate the continuing importance which Kayonza people (and especially the ruling house) attached to the chieftaincy of Kayonza, even at the end of the colonial period. After independence, however, the integration of Kigezi into the Uganda political system was abrupt and quite complete. Mr. Kabuga's chapter on the Banyama-Baboga controversy, is essentially an account of the trivialisation of district politics into personal factionalism, as the power of the Uganda government became increasingly strong and increasingly obvious.

This volume cannot pretend to completeness, nor to finality of judgment even on the issues with which it deals. Much further research will prove rewarding; but it is hoped that the present volume will encourage such research, and provide provisional answers until better are discovered or until other questions are asked. It is the profound wish of the contributors that their work will demonstrate the nature and richness of Kigezi's history, and will encourage further interest within and beyond Kigezi.

Editor.

Kigezi Chronology.

Date	Sequence of events.
Before 1500:	states in the Rwanda region including Mubari (Buzigaaba), perhaps Gisaka (Bugyesera) and Ndorwa in the East; Barengye and Babaanda groups in the North-West.
c. 1500:	Firm establishment of Rwanda under Ruganzu Bwimba.
1500 — 1600	Series of crises in Rwanda, including Banyoro invasion. Babaanda expel Barengye from Nduga — some Barengye flee to establish kingdoms in Kinkiizi and Kayonza. Banyiginya then overthrow Babaanda, some of whom follow the Barengye and take over Kinkiizi. Some Bazigaaba flee from Mubari to South Kigezi. North and Central Kigezi occupied by pastoralists, including Bashambo, Baishekatwa, Banyonyi, Bashengyera.
1600 — 1700:	Mpororo kingdom, small in size, ruled by Baishekatwa. Rwanda-Gisaka conflict encourages Butimbo and others to escape into South Kigezi. Bazigaaba continue to move into South Kigezi, for the same reason. Bashambo, defeated by Rwanda and Gisaka, move into Mpororo kingdom, straining the state, whose queen is Kitami.
c. 1720:	Immigrant Bashambo capture power in Mpororo, seizing the royal drum Murorwa from queen Kitami. Birth of Kahaya Rutindangyezi.
1740 — 1790:	Kahaya Rutindangyezi of Mpororo fights against Rwanda and expands Mpororo to its maximum extent, covering most of eastern Kigezi, western Ankole, north-eastern Rwanda. In old age, having lost the drum, he loses control.
c. 1790:	Death of Kahaya, fragmentation of Mpororo into regions, each ruled by a Bashambo lineage, and unable to control the continuing tide of refugees flowing from Rwanda.
c. 1850:	Muhozi consolidating control of Rujumbura. Bigyeyo consolidating control over Central Kigezi. Rwanda failing to incorporate Bufumbira.
1875 onwards:	Massive immigration of Basigi and other cultivators, obliging the pastoralists to evacuate Central Kigezi.
1880 — 1895:	Mwami Rwabugiri establishes Rwanda's control over Bufumbira and raids South and Central Kigezi and Nkore kingdom.

- 1896: Rucuncu coup in Rwanda: Musinga succeeds Mibambwe. Disputed succession encourages Muhumuza to rally support in Kigezi in order to enter the succession contest.
- 1900 — 1912: Disturbed times encourage Katuregye and others to raid extensively in South Kigezi. Refugees flee to Makobore in Rujumbura, and to Kinkiizi. Basigi and some Baheesi oppose Muhumuza in South Kigezi.
- 1912: Ikumba Conference attempts to establish a British hierarchy for the whole district, confirming Makobore, Ruhayana, Nyindo and Katuregye in office. Anglo-Basigi alliance breaks down, and Baganda administrators become common.
- 1914 — 1919: War encourages Nyindo to rebel and to join Mwami of Rwanda; Musinga and Makobore suspected by British of neutrality; Katuregye killed while in revolt; Ntokiibiri at large until 1919.
- 1919 — 1930: "New men" gradually replace Baganda and pre-colonial rulers. Kigezi district administration firmly established. Beginning of complete incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda.

Further Reading

For an understanding of the Rwanda back-ground, two most important works are A. Kagame, *Inganji Karinga* (Kabgayi 1953), and J. Vansina, *L'Evolution du royaume Rwanda des origines a 1900* (Brussels 1962). Several pioneering missionary works are also useful including Pages, *Un royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique* (Brussels 1933), de Lacger, *Le Rwanda ancien et moderne* (Namur 1939 and 1940), and L. Delmas, *Au pays du Mwami Mutara III Charles Rudahigwa: Genealogies de la noblesse . . .* (Kabgayi 1950). Father Kagame's works in French are also very helpful, notably *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda* (Brussels 1954) and *l'Histoire des armees-bovines dans l'ancien Rwanda*. (Brussels 1961). Several works on social and religious traditions are more than useful, especially J. Maquet, *The Premise of Inequality in Rwanda* (London 1961), and L. de Heusch *le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustre* (Brussels 1966), and M. d'Hertefeldt, *les Clans du Rwanda ancien* (Tervuren 1971).

There are three books which deal with the sociology of Kigezi in more or less detail. The best is M. M. Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda* (New York 1957). Two other important works are B. K. Taylor, *The Western Lacustrine Bantu*, in the African Ethnographic series; and F. Karwemera, *The Bakiga* (East African Literature Bureau, forthcoming). The geographical background is sketched lightly in B. W. Langlands, *The Population Geography of Kigezi District* (Makerere Geography Department occasional paper 26, 1971). Some aspects of colonial administration may be discovered in a chapter of A. I. Richard's classic *East African Chiefs*.

Since the Ankole and Mpororo region is intimately involved in Kigezi history, some works on that area would prove instructive. The best is S. Karugire's forthcoming study of *The Traditional History of Nkore* (O.U.P.). Meanwhile the reader may consult H. F. Morris, a *History of Ankole* (Kampala 1962), and the specialist work on Kajara and Rwampara, by A. Munyuzangabo and E. Kamuhangire (Makerere History papers number 6, forthcoming). The politics of the European partition of this part of Africa are handled in W. Roger Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi, 1884-1919* (Oxford 1963), a more ambitious work than the title suggests.

Most published sources impinging upon Kigezi history, however, are in journals or chapters of more general books. The *Uganda Journal* naturally has most of the relevant studies; M. J. Bessell, "Nyabingi", 1938; J. M. Gray, "A History of Ibanda", 1960; J. M. Coote, "The Kivu Mission" (ed. H. B. Thomas), 1956; H. F. Morris, "The Kingdom of Mpororo", 1955; De C. Ireland, "Kivu Mission Diary", (ed. W. R. Louis) 1963; J. D. Turyagyenda, "Overpopulation . . . in Buhara", 1964; F. S. Brazier, "Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917", 1968; M. T. Mushanga, "Polygamy in Kigezi", 1970; P. Matete "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira", 1970; and an excellent review of Edel's *Chiga of Western Uganda*, 1958. Other articles worth consulting include A. D. Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda" *Journal of African History*, 1961; M. Pauwels, "le Culte de Nyabingi (Ruanda)", *Anthropos*, 1951; J. E. T. Philipps, "The Nabingi . . .", *Congo*, 1928;

S. Baitwababo, "Bashambu Rule in Rujumbura, 1780-1920", *Ngano, EAPH* 1969; and articles by J. E. T. Philipps and Critchley Salmoson in *Geographical Journal*, 1923.

Finally, two more ambitious works should be mentioned. Mr. Paulo Ngologozo published *Kigezi N'Abantu Baamwo* first in Rukiga (EALB 1965) and later in English (EALB 1969). This work, by an eminent Kigezi citizen, has naturally influenced all later writings in the district. In 1970, R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui published their massive *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (OUP) which includes a chapter on "The Nyabingi Cult of South western Uganda" by E. Hopkins. The book arrived too late, and was too expensive (\$ 25.00) for the contributors to consult. It proves, however, to be based solely on official records, and adds nothing to what was already known.

PART ONE ORIGINS AND SETTLEMENT OF KIGEZI.

The first three chapters deal with two related questions: where did the present inhabitants of Kigezi come from, and what kind of society did they establish for themselves? Father Geraud deals with the area now inhabited by the Bakiga; Mr. Rwandusya deals with Bufumbira, and Mr. Baitwababo considers Rujumbura. Differences in subject matter partly explain the differences in their interpretations; but there are some other circumstances influencing their points of view, and these should briefly be noted.

Father Geraud belongs firmly in the great tradition of White Fathers amateur historians. He relies heavily upon the pioneering work of Fathers Gorju, Nicolet, Pages, Delmas, Seite, de Lager, and himself. These pioneers collected oral evidence, often at a very early date, as much as half a century before professional historians turned their attention in this direction. Father Geraud's chapter is a cumulative summary of the findings of all earlier White Fathers and of his own work. It is often difficult to distinguish between the different sources from which he draws his material; but the material itself is so important that it cannot be excluded simply because of the procedures involved in supporting statements. One important criticism of the White Fathers should, however, be mentioned. As most readers will be aware, the 'Hamitic' interpretation of the history of the lacustrine region is no longer accepted by historians, and the White Fathers' interest in the ethnic origins of different castes in society nowadays seems somewhat quaint. On the other hand this old-fashioned interpretation does not reduce the value of the material, so long as the reader is aware that substance is more important than form.

Mr. Rwandusya, a retired administrative chief in Bufumbira, exemplifies the intellectual influence of Rwanda on his own county, and even in his own mind. Court history was a very important aspect of Rwanda's intellectual history. Court historians were concerned to portray a united community, in which each clan was related to the ruling Banyiginya clan; a state which had always been extensive; and a dynasty which was ancient and uninterrupted. Rwanda's history may well be shorter, less united, and

less continuous than the court wished to believe. At any rate there are grounds for suspecting that Mr. Rwandusya, insofar as he has accepted Rwanda traditions, may be exaggerating the age, and the size, of the Rwanda kingdom, and, exaggerating the closeness of the relationships between the clans. His relative chronology, however, is almost certainly reliable, and he has accurately portrayed prevailing historical beliefs in Bufumbira.

Mr. Baitwababo, as a professional historian, naturally escape the pitfalls mentioned above, and is professionally scrupulous in referring to points of view which he does not share. The only point on which other professional historians may quibble with him, is in his analysis of Bashamba-Bahima-Bairu relations. Even here, his case seems strong and convincing.

Here, then, follow three accounts of the origins of the major groups of people who now inhabit Kigezi district, and an introduction to the kind of societies which they created.

Editor.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BAKIGA

by

F. Geraud, W.F.

The mountainous region which forms the greater part of Kigezi was regarded by the Banyarwanda as the marches of Rwanda (*amateмба га Rwanda*). The link with Rwanda was rather weak, for the people of the mountains never considered themselves to be subjects of the Bami of Rwanda. They had their own leaders, language and customs.

Ndorwa, which is now the name of a county of Kigezi, used to be the name of a much larger area, extending far south-wards into Rwanda.

Bushengera was the name given by the Bakiga to the central area of Kigezi now occupied by Rukiga and part of *Ndorwa*.

Bunyoni was the name given to the area round the lake named after the ruling family: the Banyoni.

Kamwezi Gomborora was part of a kingdom called *Butaye*, which extended into Rwanda and Mpororo. The name of *Kamwezi*, however, is a corruption of *Kamuhesi*. This kingdom of *Butaye* was called *Bugahe*.

Nyarushanje Gomborora, together with *Kayonza* in *Kajara* and *Rwasha-maire*, formed an area sometimes called *Bwishikatwa*.

Kamuganguzi Gomborora was known as *Bugyeri* while the area round *Muyebe* was called *Buyebe*, names derived from the clans living in these areas.

Among the people of Kigezi, each child soon after his birth receives a name which corresponds to the "praenomen" of the Latin people. He does not receive another family name except that of his father's clan. Although this clan name is not used very often, the child will know it well. He knows that if he is a "Musigi" he is one of the descendants of *Kasigi*. The clan name has some resemblance to the European surname except that the African name refers to a common ancestor. To this eponymic hero is attributed decisions of paramount importance for the future. For instance *Kakiga* is said to have decided to live in the hills while *Kahima* chose the plains. These represent the personification of the clan, for the actual origin of most of the clans in Kigezi is lost in the mists of time. There are more than 180 clans in Kigezi and among them one can find some with special attributes. Some are widespread, found in Burundi, Rwanda, Karagwe,

Ankole, and Mpororo as well as in Kigezi. They have within them people of different racial origins: one can find Hamites, Bantu and Batwa in the same clan. These large clans (Bagahe, Basigi, Bazigaba, Bakimbiri, Bashambo, Baitira, Batsyaba, Bagyesera, Baishekatwa, Bungura, Babanda), have branches which are called *emiryango*. Some clans are proper to Kigezi being branches of older clans. In this type one can list the Basibuzi, Bagyezo, Bafangurira, Basheegi, Batabunyata etc. They all share the same totem and form of swearing in common with the larger clans. They are of more recent origin. But how do people of different racial origin come to be in the same clan? Even in the royal clan of Rwanda, one finds Batusi, Bahutu and Batwa.¹ A number of suggestions can be made. In the case of the royal clan, membership was often granted to faithful servants as a reward. Another explanation arises out of the custom of blood brotherhood. This custom was held in much greater esteem than it is today and might have resulted in the changing of family names. Thirdly, the incoming groups might well have sought the protection of the powerful Bantu clans just as they are said to have adopted the Bantu language and customs. Indeed changing from one clan to another was an accepted practice. A man isolated from his clan might adopt the totem and the clan name of his neighbours after a few years. Fr. Torelli has made a fourth suggestion.² According to him cattle people must have become farmers and vice versa in which case this process would result in the intermingling of clans. There are records of Bahima entering a Bantu clan and Bantu entering Batwa families. Both processes occurred in time of war. This brief picture should provide not only a clue to ancient African society but also means for discovery of its past.

Endahiro (coming from the verb *okurahira*) means a way of swearing and it is the sign of alliance between family groups. Families so linked (usually because of common origin or totem) call themselves *Bacumbi* and usually live fairly close to each other. For instance the Bazigaba and their *Bacumbi* swear by Mungwe while the Bagahe and their *Bacumbi* swear by Kinyagi. Formely it was said that an insult from a *Mucumbi* was tolerated while an insult from an outsider could result in a fight.

It is said that the *endahiro* can indicate common origin between clans. This is usually the case, but such an alliance may be only one convenience. For instance the Batsyaba in Kigezi are under the Mugara *endahiro* while in Ankole they are included among the *Bacumbi* of the Bashambo while in Rwanda they are said to be *Bacumbi* of the Bazigaba. Other examples indicating different origin of clans found under the same *endahiro* may be cited. The Bahanda originating in Rwanda are *bacumbi* of the Bagahe from Mpororo. The Bakimbiri, *bacumbi* of the Bahinda in Ankole, are *bacumbi* of the Bashambo in Mpororo, and the *bacumbi* of the Beega (from Rwanda) in Kigezi. The Bakonjo from Toro are the *bacumbi* of the Basigi from Rwanda. Other examples can be found which cast doubt on the value of the *Endahiro* as a precise indication of the common origin of all its *bacumbi*.

The way of swearing proper to each family group usually contains an indication of its place of origin. For example:-

For the Baitira: Kisoro waitu Kakoni;
For the Bakimbiri: Kangabo ya Bunagwa;
For the Basigi: Musigi wa Rubona Rwakatende na Kabundi;
For the Bainika: Muhutu wa Mariba;
For the Batsyaba: Itega ya Kabura.

All these names refer to places; for instance Mariba is on the shores of Lake Bunyoni, Rwakatende is situated in Bukamba near lake Mulera. All these places are in neighbouring countries. We cannot deduce anything of their distant origin; what we can suggest is that they indicate the starting point of their last journey. We know however that some clans have gone great distances from their places of origin, such as the Bashambo, the Bakonjo, and the Bagyesera. Consequently their way of swearing merely indicates the last stage of their journey. It is reserved for men, and it is a sort of rallying cry.

Fr. Torelli was told by an old man that long ago most of the clans came from a country of shells (*Nsimbi*). Can we deduce from this that many clans came from the East Coast or from the shores of a great lake like lake Victoria? The way of swearing of Bazigaba would confirm that opinion. They now swear by Mubari, but the old people at Mubari used to swear by Rwitanzigye, which is the name of a lake. They also pointed in the direction of lake Victoria as their place of origin. Rwitanzigye is a generic name for all great lakes. It means the locust killer.

The totem (*muziro*) of the clan (rather than the taboos) matters very little in everyday life. Swearing on the *Muziro* was a solemn oath. False swearing was believed to result in leprosy. We could regard *Muziro* as the badge of the clan or the sign of the family. It is worth noting that clans of cattle people and cultivators can have the same *Muziro*. This could be explained in two ways. Bantu clans could have had the *Muziro* before the coming of the Bahima. The incoming Bahima adopted the Bantu *Muziro* before taking totems of their own. The other possibility (mentioned previously) is that agricultural clans became pastoralists and vice versa; in making the change they also changed their totem. Here are some examples of clan totems: the *epu*, the *burunga*, the *ensepiene*, milk etc. To these examples we can add special kinds of cows like the *Ntimba* of the Basegu the *Ngobe* of the Bagahe, the *Nbazi* of the Baitira, the *Nkinya* of the Basingo etc. A few stories which recall the origin of totems may illustrate their nature.

The Bashambo have a totem of a little animal called *epu*. Nshamba the father of the Bashambo had an *epu* living with him like a cat. One day when Nshamba was absent the little animal went and ate something unclean. When Nshamba came home the *epu* ran forward to greet him. When Nshamba heard from his servant what the little animal had done, he cursed it. The *epu* then ran away and wanted not to be seen again by a Mushambo.

The Batsyaba have a reddish flower called *oburunga* as muziro. Once some Batsyaba saw far away in a swamp the *oburunga* which is the flower of a plant called *enumba*, and it looks very much like sorghum. They ran to harvest it as sorghum, but were drowned in the swamp. Consequently, Batsyaba are forbidden to touch this flower. According to clan legends, the Muziro could arise out of unhappy events. The origin does not matter very much but we can say that the muziro is a very practical way of indentifying relatives in spite of the multiplication of sub - clans and the similarity of names. The institution of the miziro fulfilled the role of a registry office for families. If the number of miziro coincided with the number of Endahiro, there would not be any more difficulties, but we have a good number of miziro not so widespread but still used as identification sign. For example: *ekitigu* (liver) *ehirira* (newly made beer), *enderema* (plant) *enkyende* (monkey), *enkanda* (bird), *epa* (undeveloped girl).

On the other hand some ways of swearing among ancient clans mentioned explicitly a muziro as a distinctive sign. For instance: Bagyesera — abazira *enkanda*; Bashambo — abazira *epu*.

It looks as if a branch of a big clan felt the need of a special muziro of its own as a sign of increasing strength, and thus the muziro was linked with the name of the sub-clan to stress the difference with the main branch. But the multiplication of miziro no longer served any purpose. A quick identification was no longer possible. So the muziro system as we have it now looks rather like the remnant of a more elaborate organisation discarded and becoming irrelevant as time went on. Later people took the habit to point out new branches of ancient clans by adding to the name of the founder the word Beene: For instance: the children of Muhweju were known as Beene Muhweju instead of being identified as Bashambo — abazira— *epu*.

Legend provides a clue of how kingship was understood, or at least explained by some people, perhaps for educational purposes. It looks like a fairy tale for children but it links the political power to its natural environment and thus enhances the prestige of the king. By attributing to the king power above nature this account is closely related with other legends of the same trend concerning "*Abavugi benjura*" rainmakers.

Nshamba was king in Mpororo. He had two names. The first was Nshamba Rubango, because he used to throw his spear very far. The shaft of his spear was of a tree called *omusinga*. Even now this tree is counted among the princes of the Bashambo and is given the title of "*Nyina Njeru*" as it is the true title of all the Bashambo. Nshamba came with the seed of *omusinga*. He planted it and it grew.

The second name is his name as King. He was called Mugabe, the giver, because he was the giver of everything, for everything belonged to him alone: all drums, cows, seeds, and food, the buro and the mugusha. He is the one who brought everything. Among his little children you must count: Mugahe, Musinga, Mushikatwa, Mwitira, and Mukimbiri. As for

the Bashambo there is only one great father and his name is Nshamba ya Rubango. Nshamba was not worshipping mandwa and he had no muziro (totem) but he had two birds to serve him, the crested crane and the wag-tail. He also had a little animal called epu.

To help in understanding this legend, it is good to know that in addition to totems of identification there are others used as symbols of good luck. Certain animals are regarded as fellow clansmen, linking the clan with its environment. The crane is a Munyiginya, the wag-tail is a Mugyesera, the leopard is a Muzigaba, the crow is a Mukimbiri, the milan a Mugahe.³

This second legend tell us about relationships within the Bagahe clan. It does not explain all of them but only how some of the Bagahe became rulers thanks to extraordinary luck. This was the way to assert the legitimacy of the Bahima rulers over the commoners. It also shows how a ruler was given jurisdiction over a smaller part of the kingdom, namely by receiving a drum and a good number of cows.

The children of Kagahe (Kasita, Karisa, and Kagina with their sister) came from Karagwe to Mpororo. They built a house at Kyabujuko. They were three boys and a girl and they had only twenty cows. One night a crow came to dwell on top of the house. The next morning it was gone. They went to consult the sorcerer who told them to watch and follow the bird for it would bring them a kingdom. The crow came every night. After the hatching period the crow went, they followed it, and it flew very far away to Bunyoro. The King of Bunyoro saw their sister who was very beautiful. He then asked Kasita, Karisa and Kagina for their sister in marriage. They accepted, so the king was very pleased and he gave every one of them a hundred cows, a drum and a kingdom. Thus they became kings of Buhweju, Buzimba and Butaye.⁴

The third legend tends to justify the leadership of the Barengye clan over the common people. In Rwanda the name Barengye designates ancient people who are said to have been wiped out by the Babanda long before the arrival of the Batutsi in the district of Nduga.⁵ In Kigezi the Barengye are another branch of the Bashambo (see the Nshambo tradition). They are said to come from Mpororo and were lords over Kayonza kingdom.

The kings of Kayonza: Three brothers, Ndahura, Kaganza and Nyinamukari came through the bush to Kayonza while hunting. When they arrived at Bwindi, they had to sleep in the long grass (orusharara) but woke up to find that they were surrounded by water. After some bewilderment, they decided that the only way out was for them to draw lots to ascertain which of them would be sacrificed for the remainder. The lot fell on Nyinamukari. He overcame their reluctance to carry their project to nothing. "It is better for me to die so that you, my brothers, will be saved." They then threw him into lake Rwitanzigye and he drowned. Then the lake divided into two parts and the two brothers crossed over on dry land. When they got to shore, they heard a voice saying to them "Ndahura will be chief in Kayonza, Kaganza will be chief in Buganza."

They carried on and finally arrived at the village of Kayonza. They found there about ten people called the Banyarushuri with whom they lived. After a few years a Munyarushuri went to collect grass (eshuri). When he tried to pull the grass he heard a noise and then a second time he tried it and was so afraid that he went and told Ndahura. Ndahura pulled long grass and knew that there was a drum attached to it. He went to a cave and brought out a drum and told the people to come and look at it the next day. They came and were greatly astonished. Ndahura had to explain to them that it was a drum for they had never seen one. He told them that he would speak as well as the drum if they listened to what he had to say. Thus Ndahura came to rule Kayonza while his sons went to Ibanja and Buhire in Buganza.⁶

Here is a list of Ndahura's successors.

Kubaire (Ndahura's son), Rwirima, Kamuramuko, Yeye, Kubaire Byabagambi, Rwirima II, Rutaruka, Nyakarasi and finally Mugy

Mugyinda had to flee at the coming of the Bajungu and no one stayed over from him.⁷

This legend is of Hima inspiration. Other accounts of the discovery of a drum have been recorded in Rwanda and Karagwe and all bear resemblances to our Kayonza tale. It tries to justify by Mandwa in the region the authority of the Barengye over commoners such as the Banyarushuri. Their authority had thus to be accepted in spite of the fact that they themselves were coming from another place in Mpororo.⁸

The First Bakiga

To find out who were the first Bakiga in Kigezi we shall have to stretch our imagination a little. Let us take the language as a basis for analysis. The language spoken now is closely related to Runyankore while on two of the three borders of Kigezi the language spoken is Kinyarwanda. If Kinyarwanda was never the main language spoken in spite of the migrations from Rwanda it would suggest that the main stock of Runyankore speaking people is much older than the migrant groups from Rwanda. It would seem that Runyankore has imposed itself on newcomers even when they have come in large groups.

If we eliminate all the clans we know to have come to Kigezi in times such as the Bakongwe, the Basigi, the Bakonjo, the Bahunde, we are left with a few large family groups which are still found in Mpororo such as Baitira, Baishekatwa, and others which originated in Karagwe such as the Basinga (Bagahe) and the Bazigaba.

The Basinga claim that their ancestor Kasinga (also known as kamisyo) who was a blacksmith and a sorcerer in Karagwe, was forced to flee in order to escape the wrath of his brother Muhaya. He took refuge in Ndorwa before the coming of the Batutsi. The Basinga are known in Kigezi as Bagahe.

The Bazigaba are an old clan in the country. According to a Tutsi legend Kigwa, the first Mututsi, arrived in Mutara when he came down from heaven. This place is said to have been in Ndorwa near the village of Buhanga at a place called Muko on the river Mukungwa (Rwaza). There Kigwa met the Bazigaba who ran away because Kigwa was white and they were black. This legend⁹ might indicate that the Bazigaba had been coming to Ndorwa from Mubari (a two days walk) before the coming of the Batutsi. In short, the forefathers of the Bakiga as we know them now might have come from Karagwe (a Runyankore speaking people.) In Kigezi they are gathered under the endahiro of the Bamungwe and Bakinyagi. Fr. Torelli was of the opinion that the Bahesi, the Bacucu, the Bakoko, the Basingo and the Bagahe, were the older clans in Kigezi. It is significant that they belong to the endahiro of the Bakinyagi and of the Bamungwe.¹⁰

In the old days the clan organisation had an important public role. Nowadays it is more or less confined to aspects of family life and marriages in particular. In the past the clan was also a political organisation with territorial boundaries. The chief of a clan was the chief of the land and the embryonic principality was named after the main clan. So Busigi was occupied mostly by Basigi, Bugahe was the place for most of the Bagahe and so on. Fr. Pages collected much information concerning the Bakiga living on the borders of Kigezi in the country of Byumba. We can assume that this generalisation would have held good if he had gone a bit further north. He summed up the state of affairs as he saw it at the beginning of the century in these words "The small countries of Buberuka and Mulera (near Ruhengeri) kept their formal organisations and had not even a king sometimes. Every clan used to rule and administer itself according to its own light. They were often at war with each other; no agreement among themselves was ever permanent." This situation could be found in any part of Kigezi in the past. Most of the time the heads of families (bakuru b'emiryango) were the highest authority. Sitting together they administered justice for the group. Big family groups, however, such as the Bazigaba, the Bagyesera, the Basigi, the Babanda, were better organised. They felt the need of a central authority, a sort of king with preternatural powers over rain and thunder. His prestige was to be the *Mwami w'enjura*, responsible for the welfare of the crops, and ultimate punishment by thunderbolt. Concerning rain making, Fr. Pages said that "in Rwanda the rainmakers are mostly descendants of the local kings of the Bantu clans". This role was formerly a part of the royal prerogative of their ancestors. The role of the king was to bring about beneficial influence for the whole of the group but the real political authority was exercised by the heads of families. The clan was subject, nevertheless, to pressures from without.¹¹

The fact that all marriages had to be exogamous inclined clans to keep on good terms with some other clans. This tendency gave rise to the supra-clan organisation which we have already seen: the *endahiro*.

We find in Kigezi three old clans fulfilling the function of rain makers. They are the Bagahe in Ndorwa around lake Bunyoni, the Basigi in Busigi (an area now in Rwanda) and the Babanda in Kinkizi. We include here two methods of rain-making coming from the Bagahe and the Basigi.

In the old days the Mwami w'enjura was a political as well as a religious leader. He was responsible for the well-being of people, cattle and plants. His power was due to the presence of a spirit (muzimu) living in the mwami. This muzimu called Nyabijura (the one looking after the rain) was the link between the water from above and the water from below. To obtain the blessing of rain the mwami w'enjura would go into the water of the lake asking his forefather to bring down the rain. The muzimu once put into the water had the power to attract the water from above. If in the early days much prestige was attached to such a function, in later time this sort of ceremony had lost most of its glory, for insults and ill treatment were to be the lot reserved to Nyabijura medium in case of failure. This sort of ceremony explains why Ndorwa rainmakers lived around lake Bunyoni.

Here is the method followed by the Musigi Rwambuka wa Rwenduru rwa Mayambo ga Nyakamwe ka Bujara. A special plant called "omuguta" was burned and the ashes carefully collected. The Medium had to have incisions made on his forehead and the ashes were put in those little wounds. People had to bring him offerings, mostly vegetables. This plant is given to cows which refused to be milked. After eating it, cows are willing to be milked. It had the power to change the mood of cows and therefore of spirits in charge of rain.

Around the year 1897 during the Rwalanda famine the Banyoni and the Basigi rainmakers went to see the famous rainmaker of the Babanda in Kinkizi; Kaita ka Ruhayana, to improve their methods but it was of no avail.¹²

Kinyarwanda sources recall a number of expeditions against the people of the mountain. The first to have come was led by Ruganzu Ndori. The Bakiga fought him and Ruganzu withdrew. Kanyoni was, however, killed and mutilated and from then on the Banyarwanda started swearing by Kanyoni. This battle took place at the end of 16th century, if we believe Banyarwanda historians.¹³ Was this Kanyoni the father of the Banyoni clan?

It is difficult to say since the Banyoni clan does not recall the fact. Banyoni traditions recall the names of several Bami from Rwanda who invaded Ndorwa as Mibambwe Gisanura, Yuhi Mazimpaka, Cyilima Rujugira and Kigeri Ndabarasa. In Kigezi Kigeri Ndabarasa is said to have killed Kacwanganyi famous among the Banyoni when the clan was defeated at the battle of Kahama (near Kabale).¹⁴ The Banyoni explain their defeat by saying that they were betrayed by a Munyarwanda woman. However a boy called Rusa sought out the woman among the Banyarwanda and killed her in revenge. After the death of Kacwanganyi the family took over the function of rain making within the Bagahe clan. In the old days they lived around the lake which bears their name, Bunyoni, at Kabatwa, later at Kariko, Muyebe, Bukora, Kakora and Omururinda. If rain making is a remnant of royal prerogative, this would suggest that the Bagahe and their Bahima group the Banyoni were rulers in Bunyoni before the coming of the

Bashambo. It seems that we can apply the same rule that others have applied elsewhere, namely that successive waves of incoming Bahima joined Bantu clans by intermarriage, but later on Bahima kept to themselves and maintained their own clans. The first Bahima may have joined the Bagahe clan in Ndorwa (Basinga). Later they could have started a *muryango* of their own, the Banyoni who, recognised the rainmakers, were a ruling family at one time in Ndorwa, long before Kahaya Rutindangyezi.

The Bazigaba have certainly been in Kigezi or at least in Ndorwa for a long time. When the first Hima arrived, they found the Bazigaba in Ndorwa. Like the Bagyesera, the Basigi and the Babanda which are others comers relying on diplomacy rather than force, found it opportune to join up with the local Muzigaba king named Kabeja (this is the Kinyarwanda pronunciation. In Kigezi they speak of Kabezi but it seems that the same person is referred to). Kabeja's daughter Nyamigyezi was to be privileged to give birth to the wife of the great Mwami Gihanga (the creator) so the tradition goes.

The symbol of the Bazigaba power was the Drum "Sera" which was taken away from the Bazigaba in the 16th century by Yuhi II. The kingdom of the Bazigaba stretched from Ndorwa to Bugyesera. Their southern neighbours led by Kimenyi Shumbusho pushed the Bazigaba out of the area south of Mubari.¹⁵ Another tradition relates a revolt of the Bazigaba against the Bagyesera. Nyabayombe and his clansmen from Mubari fought against Bazimya, the Mugyesera king in about 1740. The latter only survived because of the intervention of Rujugira, son of Yuhi Mazimpaka. In Rwanda, the Bazigaba were known for their witchcraft and were also entrusted with the Mwami's cattle. They had a reputation for being good blacksmiths and it is worth noting that a sub-clan of the Bazigaba, called in Kigezi the Basingora, is said to have introduced the use of iron hoes into Kigezi.¹⁶

The Bakimbiri are an old clan in the country. Nevertheless they are not counted among the indigenous clans known in Rwanda as "Bashangwa Butaka," such as the Basinga, Bazigaba, Bagyesera. Like the Basigi they have a great number of sub-clans called *emiryango* in Ankole. In Kigezi we find among the Bakimbiri: the Bagwisa, Bahimba Beega, Bazingwe Batukuza, Barahusya, Babinyi, Bakokoma and so on. In Rukiga some of them are said to be from Rutungu (a place bordering Mubari). Some others come from Kihanga kya Batorogwa. In Bufumbira the Bakimbiri are from Bumbogo, south Buberuka, in Rwanda. While inquiring about the famous Ryangombe legend Fr. Nicolet obtained the following information on the origin of the Bakimbiri. Ryangombe was a Mukimbiri, from Byerwa bya Ngozi in Burundi. He was king of Gitara Muzingo and Muriro bordering Ndorwa. Could we deduce that the Bakimbiri are from Burundi? This proposition would explain why such an old clan is not counted among the "Bashangwa Butaka" and at the same time be extremely numerous. The Bakimbiri are closely related, with the Beega, sharing the same totem called "ifuti" (calf born feet first). Another peculiar feature of that family group was their relations with the ruling clans. In Ankole they are Bacu-

mbi of the Bahinda, in Mpororo they are Bacumbi of the Bashambo and in Rwanda they are Bacumbi of Banyiginya. Would it not be a trace of their ancient nobility? Their traditional rulers in Ndorwa were the Bashambo and their mandwa was Mugasha. In Bufumbira a Gomborora is called by their name Bukimbiri. That branch of the Bakimbiri from Bumbogo, counts among their relatives the Bagiri and the Bakono. Another branch of the Bakimbiri, the Bahimba ba Macumu coming from Isaliwa Keitoru (Mpimbi) occupied the centre of Rubanda saza. When they arrived there the Babwiga left the place at the time of Kahaya ka Ruguru around 1860.¹⁷

The date of the arrival of the *Basingora* in Kigezi is difficult to determine. Their tradition states that their ancestor came from Butumbi with three sons. He settled in a place called Karungu and he started a small hoe industry. He is said to have introduced hoes as bride gift (*enjugano*) (this custom was widespread in ancient Rwanda beside the traditional cow). Later they started the first rural trade school in the country and taught the smith's trade to the Bakuba, the Bazaka, the Barunga. The *Basingora* grew in fame and numbers. They had some trouble later with the Bakuba of Kirima. From Karungu they later moved to Buganza, Kimuga, Ruyonza, Bwindi, Nozi and Mpalo. Their relationship to the Bazigaba is beyond any doubt. They still swear by Mubari gwa Rihura.¹⁸

Towards the end of the 13th century the Muhutu clan of the *Bagyesera* seems to have been in control of the country known as Gisaka which is also known as Bugyesera. A long list of rulers and well developed traditions suggest a well established kingdom. A Hima dynasty was ruling over Bugyesera down to the end of the 18th century. Wars with their powerful neighbours the Banyiginya were fatal to them and around the year 1800 Gisaka became an integral part of Rwanda. A group of *Bagyesera* left Gisaka during the reign of Yuhi Mazimpaka. They were close relatives of the *Mugyesera* king Rulegeya. They divided themselves into three miryango, the sons of Sendakizi, the sons of Rwamacombe and the sons of Nyakabwa.

The three miryango later produced chiefs in south Ndorwa: Kabuto, Rusekampunzi and Murasira. Perhaps it was during their chieftainship that many *Bagyesera* came into Ndorwa. The sons of Rulegeya are said to have introduced the banana into Rwanda from Mpororo at the end of the 17th century during the reign of Yuhi Mazimpaka.

During the reign of Mwami Mibambwe II a branch of the *Bagyesera* the *Batimbo* left Gisaka and migrated into Rwanda. They were a family of servants of the dynasty. Round Mwisu a family group called *Batimbo* are said to come from Musakamba (Mulera) near Ruhengeri. They came into Kigezi at the occasion of a famine. Some went to Kinaba, others to Kabale ka Muziba. The groups do not seem to be related in spite of the similarity of names.

The *Basyaba* of Kigezi came fairly recently from Rwanda and are said to be a branch of the Bazigaba, while in Ankole they are said to be a miryango from the Bakimbiri. In Kigezi, however, they are not found under

either endahiro. One tradition attributes the discovery of milk to their eponymous ancestor, a woman named Nyinarusyaba. Could this be a suggestion that as a clan, the Basyaba were contemporary with the arrival of the Batutsi and their cows? Again it is somewhat puzzling to find the Basyaba as the only clan whose founder was a woman. Yuhi Mazimpaka is said to have had trouble with two wives who were Basyaba. So exasperated was he that he cursed and swore not to take any wives from that clan. Since then the Banyiginya dynasty has maintained this ban, but the Basyaba were the ruling family in Rulengwe Bushubi Keza.¹⁹

Before the coming of the Patutsi, the country of Nduga in Rwanda was the kingdom of the Babanda clan. They are an old family group but are not considered as "Basangwa butaka". One of their kings, the sorcerer Mashira is said to have played a part in the destruction of the Barengye people (ancestors of the Basinga, said to be the first inhabitants of Rwanda). At one time an army of Banyoro (people from the north) invaded Rwanda coming from Ankole through Mpororo. The Babanda then joined the Batutsi warriors and the invaders were defeated. In Kigezi the Babanda are living in Kayonza. They have settled there for quite a long time. The function of rain makers was the privilege of one of their sub-clans, the Bayundo Bene Misheriko. The Babanda might have been in Kayonza long before the coming of the Barengye lord and their function as rain makers could be a confirmation of their ancient origin.²⁰

The Barihira must have been in Ndorwa for quite a long time. Their way of swearing suggests a Rwanda origin as it refers to Korobwa, a hero in Rwanda mythology. They are said to come from the Mpimbi (the forest in the West). They had in the past some peculiar customs of their own, a kind of family day. Some members of the clan, the Bakora and the Bahuku, at some stage went to Ruchuru in Congo and settled there. They had the unusual custom of a reunion once a year to honor the spirit of their ancestor along the lines of the "Parentales" of the ancient Romans. Besides showing respect to their ancestors, they also had a sense of veneration for their place of origin; Kikore kya Barihira. Kikore is the central area of the clan in Kigezi although the Barihira are found at Kicumbi Kyarugondo and Kinanira in Nyarushanje. During those days of Parentales sacrifices were offered following a ritual intended to revive some familiar features of daily life of the Barihira on the shores of a river or a lake.²¹

The Bungura are well known in Rwanda. A legend tells us that Rubunga their ancestor was in charge of the drum at the court of the Mwami Gihanga. He is said to have given to the Mwami the drum of King Rulenge of the Basinga. The Mwami called him Umwungura "the one who adds." A branch of the family, however, is said to come from Bwito, north-west of lake Kivu. The paramount chief of the family, Gase, remained in the homeland while his two brothers Kaziranyama and Senyabusha migrated and eventually settled in Bufumbira. Like the Barihira they used to have a feast day in memory of Gase for whom they sacrificed a sheep as he had a great liking for mutton.²²

Around lake Bunyoni, at Butiganda and in the Kahondo valley are found groups of people who call themselves *Bakonjo* but they are found in the endahiro of the Bamusigi (that is of Rwanda origin). This is another example which shows the unreliability of the endahiro as an absolute.

Indications are of a common origin for all its members. The traditions are unanimous. Led by Nyamarembo, they arrived in Kigezi some eight generations ago. They claim to have introduced the banana into Kigezi. It seems that they were a peaceful people for they do not record any victory nor mention any hero and though they recall their long journey through western Uganda and Rwanda, they do not mention any battle.

Though now but a single clan in Kigezi, the *Bakonjo* were divided into many sub-clans before their migrations from the Busongora valley. The Bagoba, the Barenge, the Babwita, the Baisare, the Basu, the Baswaga. Their leaders, however, were chosen from the Bakuta and the Bakoransi before their migration. Although they came from the Busongora valley, they do not claim to be the first inhabitants there. They still recall the names of other clans who were living in Tooro before their arrival in the Busongora plain, for instance, the Baruku, the Bairuntwa, the Bakunentwa and the Basikuzi.

The *Bakonjo* claim to have settled in the Busongora valley twenty generations ago. Then for an unknown reason they decided to go southward. The Barenge from Kabukure island began the journey by throwing their king into the lake. Then they followed the shores of Lake Edward and went to Rwanda, where they came into Kigezi. We can presume that they brought the banana from Rwanda into Ndorwa. They claim to be the first to have had bananas in Ndorwa, which perhaps means only to be the first into their own valley of Kahondo. Since their arrival in Kigezi some of their chiefs have been: Nyamarembo Gona, Bulegeya, Weza, Mashobe, Buto, Kisamunyu. The traditions among the *Bakonjo* have been particularly well preserved and handed down.²³

MURORWA AND MARINDA

It is difficult to know much about Kigezi during the period of the great Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom. We have, however, two testimonies from Rwanda and Ankole.

Rugereko (1931) living in Rwaza related that the Mukimbiri Ryan-gombe was king in Gitara, in a place then called Omunziro and Muriro bordering Ndorwa (Seri ya Ndorwa) which meant, from Rwaza, Mpororo Rukiga, then part Kitara kingdom. On the other hand Tiwangye from Rubindi stated that the Mucwezi Wamala gave the drum Murorwa to Babinga Ryangombe's father.

"So just as Wamala gave to Katukuru of the Bayangwe clan the drum 'Bagendanwa' to rule for him over Karo Karungi, the same Wamala gave the drum 'Murorwa' to Babinga Ryangombe's father to rule for him over Mpororo Rukiga."

It is difficult to obtain more information about these statements but at least we can understand now the meaning of the word "Murorwa." It does not have any meaning in Rukiga but it does in Runyoro, and this is a good hint that the drum Murorwa was given by a Mucwezi. Murorwa comes from the verb okurora, to see. So in the passive from murorwa means in Runyoro the drum which is looked at. This meaning is quite in keeping with the name of the Ankole drums "Bagyendanwa" the drum which is escorted. The name of the Ankole drum is in the plural for they were in fact two drums while Murorwa must have been a single drum. The names show that drums were personified. So Murorwa was the drum of Babinga and of his son Ryangombe of the Bakimbiri. Later it became the drum of Nyaheru who gave it to his daughter Kitami from the Baishekatwa clan.

There is no reason to challenge Tiwangye's statement that the Mucwezi Wamala gave Murorwa to Babinga, Ryangombe's father. What we know now about Ryangombe is mixed up with legendary details. According to Rugereka he was a Mukimbiri and came from Byerwa bya Ngozi in Burundi. Some other people in Rwanda stated that one of his wives was from the Banyiginya of Rwanda and that he was related somehow with the Bacwezi. One of his forefathers was called Mugarura. We find a Mugarura among the Bacwezi as Kyomya's son born from a servant girl but there is no evidence that he was the same person.

Not much is said about Nyaheru (or Inyakwera) except that he had the drum Murorwa and that he was a man from the Baishekatwa clan. He might have been living near Rwentobo where some years later his daughter Kitami was found with plenty of cattle.²⁴

In addition to the prestige Kitami derived from being a king's daughter, Kitami was a phenomenon for other reasons. She was exceedingly corpulent and excessively dull. From her disgusting and abnormal physical state, she got her name, from the word "okutama" which means to disgust. Her sole occupation consisted in swallowing enormous quantities of milk. She lay on her back the whole time, so it is not surprising that she daily grew fatter. Unfortunately, she was also very timorous, so that the sight of a mountain, a man or the moon was sufficient to frighten her and cause her to vomit. On her father's death she became queen of Mpororo. Her subjects never saw her. She first lived at Kirangama but later went to Kyanzare. She was credited with extraordinary supernatural powers. Rumours of her power circulating around neighbouring lands discouraged anyone from attacking Mpororo.

As her health deteriorated and her vomiting increased, the royal household finally called in a medicine man from Butumbi called Kainamura Muganga. First he prescribed purges but later on he decided that his royal patient needed more personal and intimate care. Kitami's health noticeably improved; after a time, in fact, it became obvious that she was expecting a baby. The family council decided to move the mother-to-be elsewhere for the birth. She moved to Katabonwa near Rwentobo where a son was

born to her, said to be Murari father of Kahaya. The successful doctor was presented with cows and a body guard before he left for Shema in search of further romance. Kitami returned to her new residence at Nyamunyi where the drum "Murorwa" was kept by her clan, the Baishekakwa.

It was while she was there that this remarkable queen died, struck down by the sting of a carpenter bee, which is the origin of the saying "Kitami akaitwa ekijunjure." Her death was held to be an apocalyptic calamity. Prudent people left the country. Perhaps a combination of unusual happenings, such as earth-quakes, epidemics and violent storms scared the inhabitants. Whatever the cause, panic spread. First thoughts were to appease the queen's ghost and hence a cult was started.

Kitami dead became more powerful than Kitami alive. The Bacwezi cult went out of fashion now that the people had a "mandwa" of their own. Thus Kitami became the origin of the Nyabingi cult. The name Nyabingi might mean "one who has many things" or "one who brings many things." The word might have lost its original meaning but it might have been used already while Kitami was still alive, for the name Kitami was not very inspiring for a queen of Mpororo.

No matter what the origin of the name Nyabingi, the proper Nyabingi ritual came directly from Queen Kitami: to be unseen, to give orders from behind a curtain of barkcloth, to shake the pillar, to utter unarticulate sounds, to change own voice, all those theatrical rites have entered the Nyabingi cult. Years later anyone subject to delirium or epileptic fits was supposed to be possessed (omugirwa) by Kitami's ghost. The new cult was to render obsolete in some places, the simple cult of family worship.

The name of Kitami is liable to create confusion for we have several persons called by that name. We have first of all Kitami who was killed by a carpenter bee. Then we have another Kitami kya Nyaweera whose story we find related in the book "*Abakozire ebyokutangaza omuri Ankole*" by Mr. Nganwa, page 18. But we shall see later it was the same person referred to. We have Kitami called as well Kyebumbire. This Kitami from the Bene Muhondogwa clan (Baishekakwa) is said to be Nyanju's daughter. She is said to have succeeded to Itanzi as queen of Mpororo. She is therefore much more recent. There is finally another Kitami called Kamujogo who came round Rwentobo after Kahaya's death. She had a grandson of Rutindangyezi who named himself Murari II.²⁵

To understand how Murari became king is difficult for traditions contradict one another. *Version I*: when Murari and his brother Ishemurari arrived in Mpororo, coming from Mutara, they found the country ruled by queen Kitami (from Barinda). According to this record Murari was a contemporary of Kitami. *Version II*: Murari was Kitami's own son. The father would be the medicine man called Kainamura Muganga (from A. Muhinda). *Version III*: Murari was married to Komukyera who was Kitami's daughter. Kitami was killed by Ishebugabo. *Version IV*: Nyaheru and Mu-

rari were two brothers so Kahaya and Kitami were cousins (munyanya wa ishento). This version does not explain how the drum Murorwa went from the Baishekatwa to the Bashambo. *Version V*: Ishemurari married Kishandura (Kivuma's daughter). This girl was given to him by Kitami as a reward. She was the mother of a boy called Murari. After Kitami's death Ishemurari would have got hold of the drum Murorwa for his son Murari (from Mutabazi). *Version VI*: Murari's father was called Kinwa son of Ntagu, Murari was Kitami's husband. (From Batoora).

At any rate Murari was the first Mushambo king with the drum Murorwa. According to Mr. A. G. Katate, Murari was king at the time of Ntare IV Kiitabanyoro. This lack of unanimity over Kitami's succession sounds like an echo of by-gone plots and intrigues. But two facts seem to appear from Murari's time: the new Bashambo rulers were opposed to the Nyabingi cult and on the other hand Kitami's ghost became increasingly popular among women, specially from the Baishekatwa clan.²⁶

Kahaya Rutindangyezi ka Murari (son of Murari) stands like a beacon in the darkness of the past. He is one of the few figures of whom we can be absolutely certain, for the unanimity of tradition leaves us in no doubt of his historicity. Even now people all over Kigezi swear by him. His Kingdom consisted of Kajara, Sheema, Igara, Rwampara, Ndorwa, Rukiga, Rujumbura and part of Kinkizi. Kigezi traditions recall that Kahaya managed to inherit the kingdom of the drum Murorwa and his nickname Rutindangyezi is not at all connected with bridge making as one would understand it but with the crossing of Lake Bunyoni. What is the earliest period to which we can assign the reign of Kahaya? There are several pointers to guide us. The Mwami of Rwanda Rujugira, is said to have fought against his relative Kahaya, King of Mpororo Rukiga. This Mwami reigned during the middle of the 18th century. Another tradition relates how Ntare Kiitabanyoro wanted to have his drum "Bagendanwa" made like the Murorwa drum of Kahaya (a white skin with a black stripe). Accordingly Kahuru, son of Nyambore, of the Baruru clan in Kigezi left his master Kahaya in order to work for Ntare who was ruling over Kaarokarungi around 1750. We count back nine generations before meeting the names of Kahaya's contemporaries. Again we arrive at a date of around 1750. Kikiga traditions are loud in their praise of Kahaya's reign. People could move freely about the country with only a stick; spears were no longer necessary for Kahaya saw to it that vendetta and internecine fighting were suppressed. His political organisations were probably along the lines of Bunyoro Kitara and Rwanda. To men of outstanding ability, within his clan, he would entrust some of his cattle and send them off to some corner of his kingdom. This vassal whose livelihood depended on such a gift would have to take care of his lord's property. He would strive to live in peace with the people among whom he grazed his cattle. The cattle were a sign of his authority delegated to him by the king, which exempted him from the jurisdiction of the clan elders. Both he and his people had a mutual interest in preserving law and order, he for the sake of his lord's cattle, they for fear of the king.²⁷

Towards the end of Kahaya's life his sons began to cause trouble. He is said to have hidden the drum "Murorwa" (an essential attribute of kings in Bantu kingdoms) to prevent anyone inheriting it. He either destroyed it, or gave it to the Bagabira for custody. Since none of Kahaya's sons would accept one of their number as overlord, Kahaya's large realm was divided among them on his death into small independent countries. Rugambagye received Rukiga; Kirenzi had Ruzumbura. Kihondwa got Kajara; Rukari got Rufuha; Mafundo got Igara; Kahaya II got Rwampara; Kagina (Kahaya-son-in-law) got Butaye; and the youngest of them Nyakajunga received a place in Ndorwa. Fraternal pride and quarrels having brought Kahaya's achievements to nothing, never again was there to be so extensive a kingdom in Mpororo Rukiga.²⁸

From Bagyesera traditions we can obtain most interesting details concerning the influence of the Bashambo. When Kimenyi the third, king in Gisaka was still a young man, (around 1670-1680), the Bagyesera were attacked by the Bashambo. The battle took place at Kamuzizi near the present mission of Gahini, in Rwanda. The Bashambo won and advanced as far as Buganza. Soon afterwards, the Bagyesera made an alliance with Kigeri II, offering the Mwami of Rwanda a country if he would help expel the Bashambo. So Kimenyi III, known as Rwahashya, and Kigeri Nyamuheshera pushed back the Bashambo to Ndorwa where according to their tradition a queen was ruling over Mpororo. Later during the reign of Kahaya Rutindangyezi, the Bagyesera made an alliance with him against the Mwami of Rwanda. Kigeri Ndabarasa led the fighting forces of Rwanda because his father Rujugira was too old for campaigning. The Bashambo attacked from the north and the Bagyesera attacked from the south. Kigeri Ndabarasa was able to prevent the two armies from joining up and drove the Bagyesera back beyond lake Muhasi. The area, however, remained under Bashambo control.

Some years later the Bashambo and the Bagyesera tried the same plan again. By this time Kigeri Ndabarasa had succeeded his father as Mwami of Rwanda. Serangambo, the Rwanda general, managed to hold the Bashambo in Ndorwa for a while. Kigeri at the head of another army meanwhile fought and defeated the Bagyesera for all time at the battle of Kabirizi. The Bagyesera were led by Kimenyi Getura, and the year of the last battle was around 1765.²⁹

Nyakajunga was born at Ihangwe, a place in Mutara. As a young man he was looking after the old Kahaya. Some people said that he was only a servant of the king. Others relate that he was Kahaya's youngest son, born from a slave girl. Before his death the old Kahaya is said to have been living with Nyakajunga near lake Bunyoni. The old king gave him a drum, and therefore a part of his kingdom to look after. This drum was to stay at Ihangwa and was to be used for future installation ceremonies. There is no agreement about the name of the drum but it was not Murorwa. This might imply that the area entrusted to Nyakajunga was restricted. This area must have been around Maziba since Nyakajunga lived at Burambira and died at Kizinga near Nyanja.

From Ankole sources Kahaya is said to have left two drums among the Bakiga, but in Kigezi we hear about three drums; Rwakarabukirwa (entrusted to the Babwiga), Mahinda mpungi (under the custody of the Bagabira), Nyakahoza, about which there is a lot of confusion, since this drum is spoken about in many places in Ankole and Kigezi.

Nyakajunga is known as the father of at least three boys: Murari who succeeded his father, Mureire and Hweza. Murari and Hweza were promoters of the Nyabingi cause, like their father Nyakajunga who was said to be very much in favour of fostering Nyabingi's memory. Murari became king after Nyakajunga's death but he was himself killed by Kahurubuka's sons at Kiyanza near Rwentobo. After his death his brother Mureire became king. His residence was at Katenga near Kitohwa. He gave birth to Bigyeyo and died a very old man.³⁰

A few years after Kahaya's death the Bashambo rulers in Ndurwa had developed an elaborate ritual of their own for the installation of the new ruler. Lake Bunyoni was the magnificent site for these ceremonies. The most important part of the ceremony was the crossing of the lake from East to West by the new ruler, as a reminder to the descendant of Kahaya Rutindagyezi that the clan had once followed a similar route into Ndurwa. The king had to spend the night of the new moon in the eastern part of the lake before coming ashore at dawn to be given the drum and other insignia of power. Amidst noisy acclamations he would beat "Murorwa" or "Muhinda," then he was presented with many gifts as token of submission. A ritual of purification (okuhasirira) was to be faithfully followed for three days on the 3rd, the 6th and the 9th days after the new moon (3-6-9 are the ritual numbers of Bacwezi). The new king had to purify the drum in order to placate the spirit of the king. Most probably some animal sacrifices had to be made as well, as this was done on lake Bwerayangye for the kings of Karagwe. Certain regulations were imposed. There was to be no worshipping of "mandwa." People and cattle had to be purified with water mixed with chalk, which the unmarried would sprinkle on the people and cattle when ordered to do so by the king. To understand the installation of the ruler on the lake we must know some details on the education which was to be given to the future ruler. The future king was to undergo a limited sequestration. He had to remain hidden in some place around the lake or on some island. From time to time he would come at night and meet his father the king. He was told about the affairs of the kingdom and about people, up to the time fixed for the open crossing. So the day he was entrusted with the kingdom, the new king would know everything and nobody would know him. This sort of education in secret was meant to promote his prestige but also to avoid, as far as possible, intrigues and plots over king's succession, a frequent weakness among polygamous rulers.³¹

Another branch of the Bagahe clan was a ruling family: the Bataye in a little kingdom called after their name: Butaye, Kinyarwanda sources tell us that Buregyeya, king of the Bagyesera, occupied Butaye around 1700. Later Bazimya who succeeded Ruregyeya was displaced by the Ba-

shambo. This little kingdom of Butaye spread over parts of Mutara, Karagwe, Mpororo and Kigezi. The Kigezi section is now mostly in Kamwezi Gomborora. At one time a Muhima from Karagwe, Kagina, was a vassal of Kahaya in Butaye. He married Nturegye, Kahaya's sister. She gave birth to Buta, Biraro, Rurwana, Ishemuhingi and Mushwa. After Kahaya's death the kingdom like other parts of Mpororo and Rukiga became virtually independent. Mushwa, however, grew up at Kahaya's place, and received from his uncle his wife called Nyinamakuba. Nyinamakuba gave birth to Kahurubuka. One story relates that Murari went to see Kahurubuka to require from him a sign of submission (*mutaijo*). This Murari was considered as a Kyebumbe (usurper). Murari told Kahurubuka that he liked him but disliked his children. The children were listening from a hiding place, whereupon they plotted with their father and killed Murari. It is not possible to identify this Murari with Kahaya's father. This man Murari was coming from Karwera, next to the swamp of Rutorana on the Rwanda border. He required offerings from the Bagina for he had Nyabingi, a woman from the Basinga who was acting as a mugirwa of the cult. At one time a leader known as Nyarugangura of the Bataye was ruling over Bucundura in Rukiga. The Bataye were ruling over the Bahingo, Batsyaba, Baitira and Bahumbu. They were driven away by the Basigi, Bene Nyabwana and Bene Buhazi (at the time of the Basigi's uprising). But it seems that those people called Bataye had no relation with the Bataye of Butaye: they may have been a branch of the Bene Kihondwa. In any case they were not relatives of the Bene Kagina. Here is a list of the Bagina rulers: Kagina, Mushwa, Kahurubuka, Rwanyegamo, Kainamura, Katareya (alive in 1911).³²

The Rule of Bigyeyo Bya Mureire. Here is a picture of Bigyeyo as we could gather from his descendants. Bigyeyo was a Muhima of the Bushambo. Single handed he managed to bring some kind of unity to Bushengera for a period of time. He was pleasant, gentle and diplomatic and found it easy to make friends with everyone. Many are the stories, fables, proverbs, and byevugo attributed to him. He also had an interest in speculative matters as witness the division of the year into lunar months, the measurement of Muhabura by pacing, the improvement of agriculture by varying it according to the season, all of which rightly or wrongly are attributed to him. He is also said to have changed the name of Bushengera to that of Rukiga. This shows a certain Kinyarwanda influence, although he was sufficiently ill acquainted with the language to go to Bufumbira to improve his knowledge of Runyarwanda. His great popularity enabled him to move from clan to clan, his charm, wit and wisdom gaining him an enthusiastic reception. He was a great traveller but his residence was at Igorora near Maziba. He was opposed to the collective frenzy brought by the Nyabingi sect both from personal taste and from political motives. Bahunde and Bakongwe leaders met Bigyeyo's opposition, and years later the Nyabingi movement met the strong resistance of the Bene Bigyeyo with their friends the Batendura and the Bainika. But great as he was Bigyeyo was unable to arrange for a successor. After his death around 1845 no one was ever able to awaken among the Bakiga a desire for a greater unity. The country was to remain divided and for a long time threatened with invasions.³³

Here are names related to Bigyeyo. Murari, Kahaya, Nyakajunga, Mureire, Bigyeyo, Bangabuzi, Nyamuhuku, Fula, Nduhira Tibaingana, (born 1920). Murari, Kahaya, Nyakajunga (omwana w'omuzana) Mureire, Bigyeyo, Rwebishaka, Ndanhuka, Kayabuki (alive in 1908). Bigyeyo's drum was Mahinda. After Bigyeyo's death Mahinda was in possession of the Bene Rugambagye.

We can easily calculate the time of the arrival of the *Bakongwe* clan in the Gomborora of Bufundi, thanks to a *Kyevugo* well known to the clan's elders:

Semakokiro ari Kabaka Buganda
Bwawe alire engoma Koki
Ehingo ari aha ngoma Bunyanpaka
Abakengwe nabo bahikire Bufundi

All the rulers mentioned in this *Kyevugo* were ruling somewhere a bit before 1830. In fact Semakokiro was Kabaka around the year 1820 but the *Bakongwe* arrival in Bufundi was followed by a solar eclipse and father Torelli in 1912 spoke to an old man of the *Bakongwe* clan who saw that solar eclipse "Bwaira kabiri" as a little shepherd. So it is likely that the last migration of the clan must have taken place between the years 1830 and 1840.

The *Bakongwe* were coming from Burengye (Kayonza) but others were coming from Butsusi bwa Kagagaza in Rwanda. In Bufundi they found the Bahesi. A battle took place and the Bahesi went to Bulera Nyakato and Hamugande.

The domestic divinity of the incoming clan was a mandwa called "Nyabingi wa Nyinamuranda" a variation of the "Nyabingi Biheko." Some-time later a famous Mukongwe chief Bitwoko, coming from the Mpimbi, and having obtained a rifle, thought the time was ripe for proclaiming himself king on the west side of lake Bunyoni but the Bene Bigyeyo set an ambush into which Bitwoko promptly fell, losing both his life and his rifle. It was only later that the *Bakongwe* could settle on the west side of lake Bunyoni.³⁴

The *Bahunde* are late arrivals in Kigezi, having been forced to move from the area around lake Kivu and lake Edward by the pressure of the warlike tribes of the Warega who were on the move in Congo. First the *Bahunde* took refuge in large groups in Bugoyi near Nyunde. Because of their ignorance of the local language the Banyarwanda nicknamed them the "Ibiragi," which means "Deaf-mute." The *Bahunde*, however were renowned for their ability as blacksmiths. After a few years of living peacefully with the Banyarwanda, the *Bahunde*'s position deteriorated. The Banyarwanda, despised by the *Bahunde*, decided to drive out the refugees. A man called Mucunu with the consent of the Mwami Rujugira, organised an attack on the *Bahunde*, with warriors from the Basinga (Bagahe) and Bakora (Barihira). In the first encounter, the Banyarwanda

had to withdraw to make better preparations. After training war dogs and enlisting help from other clans a second and more successful attack was made which compelled the Bahunde, to withdraw to the north. They settled in north Kigezi and Rutchuru.

By the end of the 19th century five small kingdoms ruled by the Bahunde were to be found in Butumbi and in the neighbouring Congo, when a Rwabugiri expedition passed there. Kahaya III a Muhunde was ruling over Bushengyera for a while during the reign of Rwogera around the year 1860. The ability of Bahunde to transform themselves from refugees to being rulers within a century might have been due to their reputation in witchcraft, but it may be due to their contact with Bahaya hunters. About this period hunters from Karagwe used to go and hunt elephants in Buhunde, this part of Kigezi known as Butumbi. These Bahaya hunters must have passed on information to Speke for he made a map of northern Kigezi in 1861 while staying with Rumanika in Karagwe. In northern Kigezi, the Bahaya were known as suppliers of rifles and gun powder. The Bahunde might have got hold of rifles and thus increased their influence over southern Kigezi later on during the Nyabingi disturbances.³⁵

Kahaya Ka Ruguru 1860. Not much is known of this Kahaya. He seems to have been the source of some confusion for many people who did not realise that there may have been several people bearing this famous name. We must allow for three Kahayas in Kigezi. The first Kahaya is Kahaya ka Murari. The second is the son or grand son of ka Murari, he was known in Rwanda as Kahaya Kimenyi and might have been ruling his small county of Rwampara around 1800. The third is Kahaya the Muhunde or Kahaya ka Ruguru.

How this Muhunde, a foreigner, came to rule over Bushengera is difficult to know. Was he a leader of the Nyabingi cult in the country? This hypothesis is likely, for we know that the Bahunde used to make drums for the Nyabingi cult and that Katonkwa, another Muhunde and Nyabingi leader, later came and settled where this Kahaya used to live. For a time Kahaya's house was at Kahanda on top of the big hill which dominates Bukinda. Kahaya got his nickname of Kahaya ka Ruguru because of his house's situation. It refers to Kahaya from above rather than Kahaya from the south as it could be understood. As a Muhunde, Kahaya came from the "Mpimbi", he reached Kihumuro (Kabale) and settled at Kahanda. He went to fight at Rubanda where he is said to have captured and made blind the Muhimba Mujume wa Rukamba. When he came back he went to Rutobo and Nyakitabire. As a well-off farmer, Kahaya did not mind being unpopular. Knowing that the cattle might be a great temptation to the local people he did not allow his cows to go down to the swamp. Instead the people had to organise chains of carriers to bring the water to the top of the hill. There must have been some swearing, as some still do, by Kahaya ka Ruguru. Kahaya died after ruling for two years, during a smallpox epidemic in about 1863, for Rwabugiri was not yet Mwami of Rwanda. Kahaya was reported to Rwogera (the Mwami,) as being involved

with the Nyabingi movement. As a leader his concern for the common good was not foremost in his mind.³⁶

A branch of the Bagahe clan called the *Bashengyera* gave their name to the centre of Kigezi, nowadays known as Rukiga. The only remnant of that ancient name is the small village of Rwabashengyera near Mpalo. Today the Bashengyera are not known in Kigezi, although some live in Ankole. Nobody knows why they left. Some suggest a smallpox epidemic, others particularly the Bahimba and the Basigi, speak of a war in which the Bashengyera lost all their cattle. At any rate around the years 1870 they were probably still in Kigezi. Names of a few of their leaders are still known. People still speak of Mutimbo wa Kihorezo, Mutana wa Ndagizi, Ruhama wa Ndyamagyengye. According to the Bahima, Bene-rugambagye, in the old Bushengyera there were these villages amongst others: Kikuba, Kashizi, Nyamango, Soko, Katungu, Mpalo, Kehibo, Kavu, Kitowha, Karorwa, Burambira, Omukire, Maziba, Bukinda, Kikungiri. We can see some difference when we make a comparison with Rukiga today. Maziba and Kyanamira Gombororas now in Ndorwa used to be in Bushengyera. Indeed, the name of Bushengyera is now never used, having been changed by Bigyeyo to "Rukiga" which in Kinyarwanda means "mountains." Moreover, there is a small district south of Buberuka in Rwanda which is also called "Rukiga" where many of the Basigi came from.³⁷

Mutana son of Ndagizi was a Muhima from the Bashambo, lord over Bushengyera. People speak of him as a great warrior. He had his private army recruited among the Bagunga. His residence was at Burambira but his authority was recognised by many clans such as the Baritu, Basyaba, Barihira, Bagyeri, Batimbo, Bakyebuka, Bazinga etc. He must have had an important part to play during the Basigi Uprising (1875). Kasugyera, the paramount chief around Kabale, withdrew with his people and cattle towards Maziba and Burambira. They stayed there for some time, apparently without disturbances, under the protection of Mutana's warriors. Mutana's position in Burambira might explain why the Basigi did not advance very far in this area whereas they went rather far away in the direction of Kisizi, where they did not meet such organised resistance. Some years later Mutana tried to oppose the invading Banyarwanda but he was killed by Rwabugiri's soldiers around the year 1883.³⁸

Here are few names of ancient rulers, kings over Mpororo Rukiga. Wamala Omucwezi who gave the drum Murorwa. Babinga Omukimbiri. Ryangombe Omukimbiri (probably killed by the Baishekatwa). Nyaheru Omushikatwa. Kitami Omushikatwa (probably killed by the Bashambo). Murari I Omushambo. Murari wa Kinwa. Kahaya Rutindangyezi Omushambo who gave the drum Mahinda. Nyakajunga Omushambo. Murari II Omushambo. Murari wa Nyakajunga (killed by the Bagina). Mureire took over after Murari's death. Bigyeyo Bya Mureire Omushambo. Kahaya ka Ruguru Omuhunde. Mutana wa Ndagizi Omushambo. (Killed by the Banyarwanda).

An old tradition such as the one recorded below gives us plenty of names and details. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to check it. Names of kings and clans appear to be mixed with legendary details. Nevertheless we give it as it stands. Numbers have been added for the sake of clarity.

1. Nshamba ya Rubanga, known also as Mugabe, the founder of the clan. When he died he gave the staff to his son Rwanyamuhanga. 2. Rwanyamuhanga. When he died he gave the staff to his son. 3. Iguru Rikyinga. He was very fat and had a boy and a girl. The girl was called Burungi bw'Eiguru. She was married to the Bacwezi. When she died she became "mandwa." Kahu Kagula and Kahu Keiguru were her brothers. 4. Kahu Keiguru looked very much like his father Iguru Rikyinga. 5. Kibira Kyesherekwamu, father of the Bene Kibira, his brother was 6. Kibira Kigumiro Nyabweshereko. 7. Mukama n'okukamira who had the power to distribute milk. 8. Kirimansi. Under him his people became very numerous, he is the father of the Bene Kirima. He gave the staff to his son. 9. Rutema Ngumba: He was a butcher: they called him Rutemanzaire. 10. Nyamutete he gave the staff to his son. 11. Nyabuhere, so named because the people got the disease of Buhere. 12. Kinyore so named because the people got the disease of the Banyoro when he was born. He was the first to get it. 13. Kinyiginya. He taught the people to make mats and forbade people to bury the dead in skins they had used for clothes. He ordered people to use omugugu n'omubimbiri to make good mats to protect themselves against the cold. This is the reason for him to be called: Kigugu mutamba mbeho. Even now the Bakigugu are in Mpororo. 14. Murengye Rwano. He ruled for a short time for he was given a Saza by his uncle Butundu. He went to the west of Kinkizi, but left the place and settled in Kayonza. His descendants are the Barengye who are included among the Bashambo: Mugaiga was his grandson. 15. Butundu, Murengye's uncle. He is the father of the Bene Butundu. 16. Mwere. He could make cows speak with his stick. Even now they call it *ekusindira ente* (to stroke, to pet). 17. Rukima. He went to Butobere near Kabale because it was a cold place, in order to escape small-pox. He died, however, of Bikacya with all his wives, except one who was pregnant. 18. Nyakizi, meaning the only one on earth. He introduced the royal installation ceremony on lake Bunyoni on the day of the new moon, to show that their ancestors came from the other side of the lake. Then he went back to Butobere. 19. Nyamugamba. Bad tempered, he would never go back on his word and was feared by the people. Murorwa was his drum. 20. Kagyenda. He was a traveller and a fighter, he was called Muraara I. 21. Nyabusano. The father of the Bene Nyabusano. He got assistance from the Batwa. Therefore the Batwa do not join a clan but are at the disposal of the king alone. 22. Katuragana he gave the staff to his son. 23. Muzirabahungi. He defeated the Batwa in Mpororo. He gave birth to Musyaba Kacwezi, Mugumya, Nyonzi. 24. Kacwezi became king. When he died his brother became king. 25. Mugumya settled at Ihunga (Nyarushanje) and went to Kyanyanja. He is buried at Kazibona omugorogoro. 26. Kagyenda, called Muraara II, settled at Ihunga on the mountains on the Rukiga Kajara border whence you have a fine view of Mpororo. 27. Kasasira became king in place of Ishemurari Kagyenda. He left Ihunga and settled at Mpalo so that his people would

not have to climb so much. He was weak and died soon. He was called Kaswija Kazima as well as Kasasira. He left the staff to his brother Kanyasi. 28. Kanyasi took over and went to Rurangara (Bukinda) later he went to Nyabugando where he is buried. 29. Mugambisa Munju lived at Katahonwa near Rwentobo. People disliked him, and he abdicated. 30. Mukungu. Mugambisa Munju's brother. He lived at Rugarama and owned Banana plantations. He was a drunkard. 31. Ishe Murari. He visited Katabonwa and Cyahi in Rwanda. He is known in Bufumbira. 32. Muhweju. He lived at Nyakizinga (Kajara) and then at Kirurumbi. He was a good king, consequently called Kigigiro because out of a bad place he made a nice one. Then he went to Kajara where he settled at Nyarubare near Kagamba. In Ruzumbura he started to hunt pigeons and tame them. He forbade anyone to kill them. Any offender was put to death. At Ruhinda he found Enyoni. The Bene Muhweju are counted among the Bashambo. Kigigiro was attacked by Ntare who took all his cows but the country remained under the Bashambo. He grew old and when he died his brother Bigyeyo took the staff.

33. Bigyeyo. He settled at Igorora near Maziba on the way to Kabale. He left his place and went as far as Sabakari for the sake of peace. At Igorora even now you can find some of his descendants. The Europeans found Kayabuki as chief of the Bene Bigyeyo.

34. Itanzi. He went to Mutara (Kamwezi) in Rwanda then to Ruju-mbura, Ruhinda, disliking to remain in one place. One day he went hunting in Rwanda. He was wounded in the knee by a piece of wood. Young Munyiginya cured him. As a reward Itanzi named him Murigasha instead of Rushonyoka. Later this man received the Saza of Nshenyi near the Volcano of Buswere. Itanzi had a son who was lame and had a hare lip. People refused to have him as king.

35. It was decided that the next king should come from the Baitira. They drew lots, consulting the mandwa, for the clans of the Bahima Bagahe, Baishekatwa, Baitira. The Baishekatwa were chosen. Among the Baishekatwa they had two emiryango, Bene Kivuma and Bene Muhondoogo. The Bene Muhondoogo were chosen. They were asked to bring a girl to take over the drum Murorwa. They drew lots to consult the mandwa. The girl designated was Kitami Kyebumbire daughter of Nyanju (enjeru yamwerera). So Itanzi gave the staff to the Bacumbi, Basyaba, Barisa, Batwa, and Bacwezi.³⁹

What can we make out of this document? If we take into account legendary figures we remain with about 20 names liable to be historical. What is more puzzling is finding together Bashambo clans only. Nine of them are counted as emiryango of the main Shambo line in Ankole; they are Bacwezi, Barengye, Baturagana, Banyazi, Banyamugamba, Banyabuhere, Basasira, Bahweju, Bakibira. Nine other clans of more recent origin are known in Ankole as more or less collateral relatives with Kahaya:- they are, Bene Butundu, Bene Itanzi, Ben Kinyoro, Bene Nyakizi, Bene Rukima, Bene Kagyenda, Bene Ishemurari, Bene Kirima, Bene Bigyeyo.

This evident intention of joining together several sub-clans within the chieftainship of the Bashambo is enough to question the historical accuracy of the document. There is no mention of Kahaya Rutindangyezi nor does it speak of the clans emanating from his sons such as the Bene Rugambagye, the Bene Kirenzi etc. This report does not mention wars with Rwanda which we know for certain took place as the Banyarwanda tried to establish their authority over this country. This document could be of some value if we would consider the names given as names of some subordinate chiefs ruling under the authority of the main families: such as the Bene Kihondwa, Bene Kirenzi etc. Another detail is that the symbol of their authority was not always a drum but a staff. This might indicate a sort of subordinate position in the ruling hierarchy. Therefore we should disregard the chronological sequence and keep in mind that some of these subordinate chiefs might have been ruling at the same period but in different parts of the Bashambo kingdom, as the little commentary on Murengye Rwaho (No. 14) seems to suggest.

As for the names of places mentioned in this document from Cyahi to Ruhinda most of them are included within the actual border of modern Kigezi such as Butobere, Bunyoni, Ihunga, Mpalo, Burangara, Igorora, etc. as for most of the other names of places such as Katabonwa, Nyabugando, Kyanyanja etc, they are places within a few miles of the Kigezi border in Kajara county.

On the other hand some of these names of people are still known from other sources and more enquiries should still reveal more details about them.

For instance Kagyenda (No. 26 on the list) was called Muraara. He lived at Ihunga. Nowadays in Nyarushanje at the bottom of Ihunga hill people still swear by Ihunga ya Muraara. Kasasira (No. 27) is known as a mandwa in Ankole and the Basasira in Kigezi count up to ten generations to reach his name. Kanyasi (No. 28) is spoken of in a little folksong around Nyabugando, where the Bene Kanyasi were well known. Ishe Murari (No. 31) is still spoken of in Bufumbira where his place of residence is still remembered. Muhweju (No. 32) the Bene Muhweju, abazira epu are still known in Kigezi and Muhweju is known as a man who introduced a new sort of shield made in Rujumbura. Finally Bigyeyo is well remembered by some of his descendants still in Kigezi. We could say that this document brings down to us the names of some rulers who were chiefs in different parts of the Bashambo kingdom. They might have been secondary rulers somewhat like *saza* chiefs ruling from the time of the great Kahaya (around 1750) down to the end of the Bashambo kingdom at the time of the Basigi uprising. Another hypothesis could be made on this document. The main point of this testimony could as well be the last paragraphs which try to explain how a girl could have become queen of Mpororo. In that case all the names given would not matter much, and this hypothesis could justify the silence of the document about Kahaya and his sons.

Here is the genealogy of some relatives of Kahaya Rutindangyezi given by Batoora (1963) Muzora, Ntagu, Kinwa Murari, Kahaya, Butere, Rugambagye, Rwebiraro, Kasugyera, Rumanzi and Batoora.

THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The actual area now occupied by the Basigi is the result of an uprising which took place in the 19th century. Although most of them came to Kigezi about 100 years ago, they were only coming back to their place of origin. According to traditions they are closely related to the Bagahe. They are said to have come from Butaya (Bugahé), then they went to Kitojo, and Maliba, and later settled round Rulindo, south of Rubaya in Rwanda. The place was later called Busigi.

Early in the 17th century, the great Mwami Ruganzu Ndori launched a number of expeditions against the difficult county of Ndorwa which was not under his control. He fought against the Basigi. The chief of the clan then was Nyamikyenyekye whose authority was based on power over elements. The Mwami w'enjura lived on Karama hill near Rulindo. His official title, Mwami w'enjura (Lord of the rain) was a title of great veneration and respect among the Basigi. It is said that Nyamikyenyekye with the help of a Mwiru of the Banyiginya seized the drum Kalinga and hid it in Busigi. Ruganzu could not tolerate such an insult and launched a punitive expedition. He first recaptured his drum Kalinga, killed the Mwiru traitor and incorporated Busigi as part of his crown land (Drum land would be a more accurate description). Ruganzu, however, was wise, although the possessor of the land, he respected the previous owner of the drum. Nyamikyenyekye was asked to carry on his benevolent activities for the common good of the people and their cattle. Down to the beginning of this century the descendants of Nyamikyenyekye lived in Busigi as makers of rain and sunshine. Another tradition relates very simply that Nyamikyenyekye gave to Ruganzu Ndori the drum Kalinga. Later the Basigi forgot how they had been defeated by the Banyiginya. Remembering how they had once possessed the great drum of Rwanda, they felt it necessary to provide for their descendants a genealogy which would safeguard their nobility and antiquity. The brother of Kasigi was therefore called Musindi. Now Musindi is said to have been the father of the Banyiginya thus the face was saved for future generations.⁴⁰

The Uprising of the Basigi. Some Basigi were living around Mpalo as long ago as the beginning of the 19th century. Later for some unknown reason they withdrew and went around lake Bunyonyi to Kitojo kya Bufundi. From Bukamba and Buberuka they had been migrating slowly northwards so that by 1870 many had reached Rubaya and Bufundi. The rulers of Ndorwa at this time were the Bahima of the Bene Rugambagye clan, and the Banyoni. The paramount chief at the time seems to have been Rutanga.

Some Basigi started to cross the lake and to settle round Kabale. Mwozi and his people went to Kagarama, Nyakamwe went to Butobere, Nzongi went to Rugarama.

About 1875 a Musigi Rusabiro son of Rwanyamwe took his cows to the place called Kizuguta. Rutanga and his followers attacked him in order to seize his cows. The alarm was sounded and the Basigi came out to fight. The Bahima of Maziba killed Ruhuku, Rusabiro's son. After six days of furious hand to hand fighting, the Bashambo withdrew first to Butobere then to Rushamba. They retreated as far as Maziba and Burambira where the Basigi were stopped by the Bashambo of the Bagyeyo clan.

Towards Mpalo, the Basigi did not meet such obstacles and rampaged as far as Buchundura, Kisizi, Kibale and Nyarushanje. Practically the centre of Kigezi was theirs. First impressions suggest that this uprising was that of servants against their masters, a kind of revolution against the Bashambo. Other reasons however pushed the Basigi to war. For instance population pressures were beginning to build up as groups like the Bahunde moved in from Rwanda. In fact it was an ordinary war without any idea of revolt against the established authority. Although the Bene Rugambagye were pushed out of Kigezi, other Bashambo were not. Kayabuki was still master in Maziba long after the Basigi rising. The Banyoni, Bahima branch of the Bagahe were in a more difficult position, as the Batimbo, Basigi and Bahesi made an alliance to drive them out as well. In due time the Banyoni were warned and came to a compromise with their adversaries. They agreed to leave the shores of lake Bunyoni and move to Kahama, near Rushoroza, where they settled as rainmakers. From then on, they continued marrying girls from Bairu Clans.⁴¹ From then on they were known as rainmakers rather than Bahima. In the past the Bashambo had suffered many defeats but had always managed to reclaim their position as lords of Ndorwa. This time, other factors prevented them from doing so. The Nyabingi cult led by the Bahunde and Bakongwe had done much to discredit their authority. The Banyarwanda and Batwa cattle marauders discouraged the Bashambo (whose wealth in cattle was more vulnerable than farmers' crops) from returning to possible danger and loss. Aware of their weak position, the Bashambo lords decided not to return and settled instead in Kajara.

Now let us record the judgment formulated years after these events by a Musigi,⁴² "The fight of the Basigi helped all the other clans to become independent of the serfdom of the Bahima. The Babengo, Bakyebuka, Bahweju, Bakimbiri, Basaki, Batambira, Bahimba, Bachuchu were liberated from the rule of the Bene Kihondwa. The Bainika, Balitu, Bagyeyo, Bate ndura, Basyaba, Banana, were made free from the power of the Bene Rugambagye. The Bahesi, Bahurwa, Batamba, Banyakwanzi were liberated from the Banyoni and the rainmakers. Others remained under the Bahima, such as Rujumbura with the Bene Kirenzi and Kayonza ya Kinkizi with the Barengye from Mpororo, Bene Karasi. But this war brought about more trouble among clans in Rukiga. The Bagyesera were defeated by the Bakimbiri, the Bakuba were defeated by the Basingora, and the Bahesi by the Bakongwe." This judgment is somewhat partial but he summarized the situation well. All these results at the end of Bashambo rule - the clan migrations and the incoming new people-combined to give the Basigi uprising features unforeseen at the start, but which now incline us to regard it as a sort of revolution.

This document gives some indication of the old organisation. The Bashambo could not reorganise the unity of the kingdom as it was during Kahaya's reign. On the other hand their authority over the people was not uniform in all the parts of Ndorwa. In some remote parts they were ruling over grazing land. The authority over the people was in fact the authority of Bakuru b'emiryango. At other places the power was more firmly recognised, for instance ruling the Basonga at Omukagoye.

The Mushambo Mureku was ruling the Batimbo at Mwisi, the Mushambo Kasugyera was ruling the Bashambo of Kabale, the Mushambo Rumaswa was ruling the Bakimbiri at Mpalo. Some other clans were traditionally ruled by Bashambo chiefs such as the Bagabira (drum keepers), the Bahweju (shield makers), and other servants of the dynasty such as Bazoobiki, Bazara-Basaha, Bahinko, while others as sub-clans of the Mugyesera endahiro were also under their leadership, such as the Bagyeoyo, Bagunga, Baitira and so on called *abairu babo*.⁴³

The uprising of the Basigi was not inspired by any principle of democratic inspiration, for after their victory against the ruling families the non-Basigi clans in Bushengyera were labelled as "*bairu*" by the new Basigi rulers. Now in what way did 120 years of Bashambo rule bring some advantages to the people? Looking back we must say that their presence in Kigezi prevented the complete take over of the country by the Bami of Rwanda. The Banyiginya of Rwanda could never establish in Bushengyera Bunyoni the grip of their administration as they did so successfully in many other countries round Rwanda. On the other hand the lack of a strong central power and the lack of unanimity among the clans in Kigezi were real weaknesses. Confronted with internal disorder as in the case of the Nyabingi movement, or in face of external danger with Batwa raiders, the people of Bushengyera could do nothing but grin and bear it.

The Mwami of Rwanda, Kigeri IV Rwabugiri was a kind of adventurer, cruel even to his own relatives, a brilliant organiser and warrior who was feared from Burundi to Toro, from Congo to Buganda. Four times during his reign of thirty years he visited Kigezi. Twice he passed around Kamwezi en route to Ankole and at least once he must have passed along the shores of lake Edward moving from Rutchuru to Bunyampaka (Rugazi). Rwabugiri was a young man when he became Mwami. A few years after his accession, he invaded Ndorwa. Little is known of this campaign except that he killed Ruhama and stole his cattle. This took place probably between 1867 and 1870. The second invasion was punitive, to deal with some Bakiga who were causing disturbances at a centre of the Nyabingi cult. He came to what is now Kamuganguzi (Kikore) Gomborora and killed the chief Bugika Bujuri of this area which was called Bugyeri. A priestess of the Nyabingi cult called Kahukaiguru ran towards the Banyarwanda soldiers when she heard of their arrival saying that she was going to meet her brothers. The Banyarwanda beat her to death with sticks. This expedition of a limited nature occurred a few years after the first, perhaps in 1874.

The year after the rinderpest epidemic of 1882 (*omubyamo*) had decimated his cattle, Rwabugiri decided to replenish his herds by raiding Ndorwa,

Mpororo and elsewhere. This third expedition is still well remembered in Kigezi. The Banyarwanda came through the plain of Mutara towards Maziba and through Iremera. A battle was fought at Buzarisyo near Rushumo, and another at Kagarama. Then the raiders went on to Muyumbu on their way to lake Bunyoni. A battle was fought at Nyakasharara. Chief Mutana and the men of the Bagunga clan could do little against, 4,000 Batutsi and Batwa and 2,000 Bahutu auxiliaries. Although Mutana was killed and his men routed, Bushengyera was unconquered. These fights in the mountains gained little for Rwabugiri. He lost many of his best fighting men, mostly young Batutsi, without gaining sufficient spoils in compensation. (This was the opinion of some of Rwabugiri's veterans interviewed later by Fr. Pages). The Bakiga remained as stubborn and independent as ever. On one raid to Mpororo, returning Banyarwanda with their stolen cattle were ambushed near Maziba. On another occasion when a company of Banyarwanda were trying to remove the drum they were attacked and wiped out by the Bazigaba of Rushoroza.⁴⁴

At one time Rwabugiri wanted to kill a Mutabazi of his, called Nyabwana, a Musigi. Nyabwana took refuge at Kagarama with many other Basigi. When the Banyarwanda arrived at Nyamiringa, there was a fierce battle and the Basigi withdrew. However, Nyabwana then organised an ambush at Kikore into which the Banyarwanda fell on their way home. The subsequent battle lasted several days. Banyarwanda interviewed later thought the battle of Kikore was indecisive. If this was the opinion of participants many years later we might be right in thinking that they suffered heavy losses at the time. The battle of Kikore might have taken place around the year 1889; During his last expedition to Kigezi, Rwabugiri got as far as Ruhinda passing through Nyakishenyi. In Rujumbura he fought against the Bene Kirenzi of the Bashambo clan.⁴⁵

The Batwa 1897 While Rwabugiri was devastating Kigezi, the suffering Bakiga comforted themselves by reminding themselves of a prophecy of Kahaya's time that the king had cursed the country because of his troublesome sons. However he who was fulfilling the curse on the beloved land of Bushengera was about to die. Rwabugiri was identified as this troublemaker and it was believed his end was coming. Unfortunately for the people, the prophecy was not exactly fulfilled, for after the Mwami's death the Batwa started raiding the country. Some people said that the Batwa took advantage of the confusion over the Mwami's succession but in support of a later date for Batwa raiding is the famine called Rwalanda, for the Batwa were raiding for food, and this famine took place in 1897. Some time after the death of Rwabugiri, until the coming of British, the Batwa were the scourge of Kigezi. Old people remember this time as one of continual terror. Though not numerous, they had developed better tactics with their bows and arrows. They were also united under one leader Bassebya while the Bakiga were divided. The Bakiga soon developed new methods of defence. They hid in swamps with their warriors standing in the water facing the Batwa as they came down hill. By such tactics they kept hidden and had the Batwa within the range of their bows for a longer time. They would also dot the swamps with traps, and they used beehives as hand grenades. Nevertheless the Batwa

usually had the advantage of surprise and their raids were prepared by careful spying before hand. The Bakiga fought back. One of the Batwa leaders, Bwamuhuta rwa Nyinamukanisa, who went as far as Bucundura, was killed at Kabere by a Mungura Marobe. When the resistance of the local people became better organised the Batwa reacted by putting themselves under the leadership of the Mukongwe chief Katuregye. In the meantime the British arrived. One of the paramount chiefs among the Basigi, Rwagara, joined efforts with the Europeans, together they got a better control of the country. The Batwa ceased raiding it. As for Bassebya, having caused much trouble to the new Mwami Musinga, he was finally caught in Buberuka county. Two policemen disguised as merchants went to his hideout and seized him, but being afraid of the other Batwa shot him on the spot and left him. The news of Bassebya's death on 15th May 1913 caused great rejoicing among the people.⁴⁶

Let us construct an hypothesis for the sequence of events in Ndorwa concerning the evolution of the *Nyabingi* movement. The Kitami cult was popular among women, and at the time the Bashambo rulers were opposed to it. These two tendencies look like the sign of a popular reaction not only to the death of queen Kitami but also to the change of dynasty, for the Baishekatwa clan was very much in favour of such a veneration of Kitami's ghost. Kahaya's legitimacy would have been challenged from the beginning by few people. From Kajara, the cult however spread towards Mutara in Rwanda. It came into Ndorwa after the solar eclipse of 1830 with Bitwoko, Omukongwe, who is said to have come from the Mpimbi with 'Nyabingi and a rifle.' This first attempt to take over the power from the Bashambo failed but the cult was becoming stronger. Years later the cult had a large following in Ndorwa. A few men (Bahundo) turned it into a political tool to establish their authority. This would explain the appearance of Kahaya ka Ruguru who came into Ndorwa with "Nyabingi and rifle." Having achieved political expression in Ndorwa, the Nyabingi cult, popular in Rwanda, suddenly became a danger to the eyes of the Mwami. This sudden change of attitude would explain the confusion created by Rwabugiri's expedition to Kikore where Kahukaiguru, a Nyabingi priestess went to welcome the Banyarwanda as her brothers, she said, but she was beaten to death on the spot. Then the Banyarwanda went to Kabere to kill another Nyabingi Mugirwa. She ran away but finally was caught at Bukora where she was killed. She was called Nyakwezi kwa Sherebuye (from the Bashwajumi, Sigi clan). In Rwene, and perhaps in Karujanga as well, Rwabugiri had a few faithful followers, so the Banyarwanda were well informed and knew what they were looking for. If the reaction of the Banyarwanda was somewhat unexpected, the attitude of the Bashambo in Ndorwa was a constant rejection. This explains why the Bene Bigyeyo first killed Bitwoko and later the same Bene Bigyeyo killed Katonkwa, another Muhunde who came from the Mpimbi with "Nyabingi and a rifle". The Nyabingi then was no longer peaceful ancestor worship. It had become a political force bringing about fear and slavery and become of all these disorders many clans in Bushengera were opposed to it, as witness the following Kyevugo "We got our cows at Ntaraga from Katonka ka Mushabandaro's courtyard. He trusted his Nyabingi, the ghost of the pillar, but we had confidence in the bows of the Bene Muhutu" (Bainika Abungura).⁴⁷

When Emin Pasha arrived in Mpororo from Karagwe in April 1891 he was asked to kill and destroy everything on his way "so that Nyabingi may reign again." The cult was then on the decline in Kajara where the Bashambo were firmly established. "The queen of Mpororo," he added, "has been seen by none, not even her own subjects. All they know of her is a voice heard from behind a curtain of barkcloth. Such theatrical practices have gained for her the reputation of being a great sorceress capable both of bewitching or blessing people." This queen, might have been Kitami Kyebumbi (No. 36 on the Nshambo list) recognised as queen by only half of her subjects. In Ndorwa however the Nyabingi cult was having a greater influence after the departure of the Bashambo leaders. By the end of the 19th century at least 8 important Nyabingi centres could be counted in Ndorwa, Rubanda and Rukiga. At Kahanda hill (Bukinda) Katonkwa (Muhunde). At Kagarama Mahinga ga Muhozi, Bitura's father (Musigi). At Kishanje. Rucebure rwa Karyaija, Karisa's father (Mukongwe). At Kabere Mandwa ga Birantana (Musigi). Mandwa's wife was to start another Nyabingi centre later at Nyarushanje where she was known as Mukaiganira. At Kitojo, Rukaka, Mukonya's father (Musigi). At Nangara Ruhira, Kicundwa's father (on the island of Itambira Karuhize). At Kyante, Ruhara Kanza-nira's father (Mukongwe). At Kitanga, Bitendere, Rukiika's father (Musigi).

Many other centres were known at times as Ihanga (Bagabira) Kasheregyeni (Babwiga) Kitunga (Bagyema) but these had nothing to do with the Nyabingi practices. Offering of persons was not required. They did not turn people into slaves. The Nyabingi cult in itself had no reason to be anti-foreigner, but the established authority (Bashambo, Banyarwanda, and later Europeans) had to be anti-Nyabingi for by the end of the century the cult had been become a public nuisance being a slave making business.⁴⁸

In 1861 Speke, guest of King Rumanyika in Karagwe, made a sketch of the Muhavura Volcano and a map of Mpororo Kigezi. That was the first mention of the country in geography books. Speke never came in the country which he could see from Karagwe but he obtained enough information from Bahaya hunters to be able to draw a fairly accurate sketch map. This implies that the Bahaya hunters were familiar with Mpororo and Kigezi. It was perhaps through them that the Bakongwe had rifles during the time of Bigyeyo in 1850.

In 1890 Emin Pasha (Edward Schnitzer), was commissioned to cross the continent at its centre from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean. For this purpose he established his base at Bukoba and organised his journey along the first degree of latitude south, which was implicitly recognised as a temporary border between the German and British spheres. So he travelled through Karagwe, crossed the Kagera river and reached Rwashamaire on the 20th of April 1891. Having skirted lake Nyabihoko, he spent the night at Nyabwigarukye (within a mile of Kigezi border). He entered Kigezi between Minera and Karama having in mind to go to Rubabu hot springs. He was said to be the first European to enter Rwanda (at the time the country was called Rwanda by the Bahaya people) but he did not go to Rubabu and went back to Rwashamaire. Later his friend Dr. Stuhl-

man, the first Resident of Bukoba, must have come to Kigezi around Kamwezi Gomborora about two years after Emin Pasha's journey to lake Nyabihoko. Another German reached the Bufumbira Volcanoes in 1894, called Von Goetzen. A few years later around 1897 two companies of Askaris under German officers set up their headquarters in Uzumbura with Captain Bethe and at Bukoba with Captain Von Berenge. Their aim was to prepare for the occupation of the country between Uzumbura and Bukoba. Thus round 1898 Bwana Berenge coming from Bukoba arrived in Kigezi. He came down from Rutobo. Some shooting took place at Muhanga, then he went to Nyabushabi and reached Kabale, accompanied by a company of Banubi. He went on to Bugongi and Rwakaraba. The askaris asked for some beer. People brought them very bad beer and somebody, perhaps a bit drunk, threw a spear to them, insulting them (according to the oral evidence of Karaaza they said: "mutatina ebakazi obigyenda biine emihini omu ngaro"). The soldiers brought the spear to Bwana Berenge who then gave the order to shoot. The askaris went around Kabale and Kikungiri, shooting at sight and killing people. The following day they went to Kagarama, Ahamurwa, then back to Nyamiringa and Kateratere. After a week spent at Kabale, they went to Nyabushabi and Mpalo. On the way some sick askaris lagging behind were killed by the people. At Mpalo they built a camp and stayed for some time. Some other people were killed round Mpalo and Ibumba. Von Berenge is said to have been around Nyarushanje and Kajara putting up stones and flag poles on top of high hills. A year later other Askaris led by Captain Bethe came from Uzumbura. They reached Kigezi through Karujanga and came to Mariba staying around lake Bunyoni. Some people were shot at but the main concern of the foreigners was to erect large flag poles on high points.⁴⁹

In 1903, before Mishorongo, the first White Fathers, Frs Class and Bufays, with Br Hermenegilde came through Kigezi. They came from Bukoba and reached Rutobo where they went to see Muhumuza, whom they may have regarded as queen of the country. She did not receive them well. Although she was interested in what they brought she refused to sell them food for their porters. Next day they went towards Bunyoni, rounding it on the south, and were seen at Butahe. After much trouble they finally reached Rwaza where they started their first mission station on 19th November 1903.⁵⁰

The coming of the foreigners was the beginning of a new era for the Bakiga. Coming from Buganda, Karagwe, or Rwanda the European administrators were not impressed by what they saw in Kigezi. They had a very poor impression of the Bakiga. What they saw, however, was the result of 30 years of war. What they saw was the outcome of many years of almost perpetual fighting, disturbances, plunder and raids from all sides. To these misfortunes were added the rinderpest and small-pox epidemics (1882 and 1892), the locust invasion, the famine of 1897 (Rwalanda) and the famine of 1904 (Mishorongo). During those years of great distress many things were wiped out. Even the deepest family ties were put under excessive stress. During that terrible time of the famine parents went as far as exchanging their children for a bit of food. What the foreigners saw, in arriving into Kigezi, was a decimated people in a desolated country.

The Basigi had not yet felt the necessity to reorganise themselves as the new rulers of the country. The gap left by the departure of the Bashambo was causing chaos. The Nyabingi cult increased inter-clan fighting. The confusion was completed when, on one hand Muhumuza wanted to involve the Bakiga in Rwanda politics, and on the other hand three European intruders appeared to have different views about the future of this country.

If the foreigners had come before 1875, let us say at about Bigyeyo's period, they would have found Bakiga society divided into three ruling families but still in an organised kingdom, with plenty of faithful supporters of the established order. They would have found the society somewhat disturbed by the Nyabingi cult but still living in harmony. They would have found traditions equal in every respect to any oral traditions found in the neighbouring Kingdoms. They would have found commercial routes (Katwe salt), traders, and artistic expressions and they would have appreciated the agricultural skill and energy of the people of the mountains.

References

1. Delmas, *Genealogies de la noblesse* . . . , p 4.
2. Notes left by Father U. Torelli, in the possession of the White Fathers.
3. Oral evidence of Arooni Muhinda, collected by Fr. Torelli.
4. Variations of this legend may be read in J. Nicolet's MS *Histoire du Royaume de Kitara Bunyoro*, in the possession of the White Fathers; and in K. Nganwa's *Abakozire eby'okutangaza omuri Ankole*. This version was first recorded by Fr Torelli, from oral evidence by Barinda.
5. Pages, *Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique*, pp 543-52 Delmas, *op. cit.*,
6. Pages, *op. cit.* Delmas, *op. cit.*
7. Compare this list with that provided by Rwankwenda (chapter 6) and Rwabihigi (Chapter 7).
8. de Lacger, *Ruanda*, pp 89, 249, 253, Notes by Fr Seite, W.F., from oral evidence by P. Kashaku.
9. Pages, *op. cit.* pp 78-109.
10. Notes of Fr Torelli.
11. Pages, *op. cit.*, pp 76 and 441.
12. Oral evidence from Beijuka (Kahama) and Kangogere (Kahuriro).
13. Pages, *op. cit.*, Delmas, *op. cit.*, de Lacger, *op. cit.*
14. Oral evidence from Beijuka (Kahama). The Banyoni have a proverb which states that they cannot be driven away because they are the people who summon the thunder.
15. Arianoff, *Histoire des Bagyesera*.
16. Delmas, *op. cit.*
17. Delmas, *op. cit.* Notes of Fr Nicolet. Oral evidence of Rugereka (Rwaza, 193'). Oral evidence of Batureine (Karukata).
18. Oral evidence of Birora (1949) collected by Fr Torelli.
19. Delmas, *op. cit.*
20. Delmas, *op. cit.* Pages, *op. cit.*
21. Pages, *op. cit.*

22. Delmas, *op. cit.*
23. Notes of Fr Torelli. Traditions were also recorded at Mazanira in 1962, in Kahondo.
24. Delmas, *op. cit.* Pages, *op. cit.* Nganwa, *op. cit.* Oral evidence of Tiwangye at Rubindi.
25. Notes by Fr Nicolet. Oral evidence from Batoora, at Nyabugando.
26. Katate and Kamugungunu, *Abagabe b'Ankole*, p 69. Nganwa, *op. cit.*
27. Delmas, *op. cit.* Oral evidence of Tiwangye. Notes of Fr Nicolet. The name Rutindangyezi may refer to his having exercised authority on both sides of lake Bunyoni.
28. Notes by Frs Nicolet and Seite. Oral evidence from Batoora. See Baitwababo (chapter three).
29. Arianoff, *op. cit.* Pages, *op. cit.* Batoora's oral evidence confirms this account.
30. Oral evidence of Batoora: M. Pauwels in *Anthropos*, vol 49, 1951.
31. Oral evidence of Batoora, who was of the Beene Rugambagye sub-clan of Bashambo.
32. Arianoff, *op. cit.* Notes of Fr Nicolet. Oral evidence from Rutembesa (a son of Katereya), Batureine, and Macumu (at Kashekye, 1964).
33. Oral evidence of Bitambe (at Karuhinda, 1962), and Rwegiza (Kikyenkye, 1963).
34. Notes of Fr Torelli. Oral evidence of Kalisa, 1912.
35. de Lacger, *op. cit.* Pages, *op. cit.* Speke, *The Source of the Nile*.
36. Delmas, *op. cit.* P. Gorju, *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, p 135. Notes of Fr Nicolet. Oral evidence from Karaaza (Kabale) and Bujura (1963, Kakatunda).
37. Oral evidence of Rwegira (1962), Batoora, and Birora (both 1963).
38. Oral evidence of Rwigira and Batoora. Pages, *op. cit.*
39. Fr Nicolet's notes of oral evidence from A. Muhinda.
40. Pages, *op. cit.* Delmas, *op. cit.* Oral evidence of Barinda (1963).
41. Notes of Fr Nicolet. Oral evidence from Kangogyera (Bitura's daughter, 1969); Birora (1936); Muhozi Muhinga Bitara (1925).
42. Oral evidence from Rubuzi, recorded by Fr Torelli.
43. Oral evidence of Birora, recorded by Fr Torelli. de Lacger, *op. cit.* Pages, *op. cit.*
44. Oral evidence of Karaaza (Kabale), and Magurukane. Notes of Fr Pages.
45. Oral evidence from Rwegisa (1961). Notes of Fr Torelli. Pages, *op. cit.*
46. Notes of Fr Seite. de Lacger, *op. cit.* Oral evidence from Bujura, Karaaza and Batureine.
47. Notes of Fr Torelli. Oral evidence of Rwegira, Karaaza, Kangogera, Kashaku and Buhire.
48. Emin Pasha's Journals, published in *Uganda Journal*. Oral evidence of Rwegira, Kangogera (Bitura's daughter), and Batureine (at Karukata).
49. Speke, *op. cit.* de Lacger, *op. cit.* Oral evidence of Batureine.
50. P. Duffays, *Jours Troubles*.

CHAPTER TWO

The Origin and Settlement of People of Bufumbira, by Zakayo Rwandusya.

SOURCES In 1918 I interviewed Muhangaara (my grand-father's brother), Busazo, Tibarura Yamutago Abagiri, Kanyeihamba Omuzigaba, Sekatawa Omungura, and Biryo Omugyesera wahanombe Rubugiri. In 1924 I interviewed Bakaruhire, Rutabuza, Chaka Abakongwe, Kibiho Omungura, and Karindugu Omusigi. In 1927 I interviewed Bamutwaki, Mabondo, and Kirongoza Abasigi. In 1928 I interviewed Bigumire Abasigi be Mpalo, and Mikaro ya Bigushu. In 1930, in Chahi, I interviewed Semarora ya Bikumura Omugyesera, Kibuye kya Muhima Omugara, and Mpatswe ya Kabanza Omwungura. In 1936, at Nyakabande, I interviewed Rwanyonga, Buregyeya, Kaziyemo, Rugayampunzi Omugiri wokubukamba, Migabo Omugyesera, and Mashengo Omugara. I have consulted the work of Mr. P. Ngologoza (*in Kigezi and its People*) and have enlarged upon his information. What follows is an analysis of the origins of the eight clans of Kigezi, who ousted earlier Batwa inhabitants.

1. *Bazigaba ba Munawe*. They were the first to enter Kigezi, and they came from Rwanda, where they had occupied the following places: Humure na Nyamirembe, Gahini na Rukara, Murwera in Mutara, Gatsibo na Kayenzi, and Mumubari.

The Mukama of the Bazigaba was called Kabeiya. Some believe that the Bazigaba originated in Ethiopia, and travelled via Madagascar, Zanzibar and Karagwe in Tanzania. They settled in Humure, where they installed Kabeiya as their first Mukama. In 800 A.D. the first mass migration of Banyiginya arrived from Somalia, bringing their cattle. On arrival in Rwanda they paid tribute and pledged loyalty to Kabeiya, who allowed them to settle. Kabeiya was succeeded by his son Nyamigyezi.

Soon there was inter-marriage between Bazigaba and Banyiginya. Kazi, a Munyiginya, married Mukama Nyamigyezi's daughter Nyirarukangaga, and their first-born was named Gihanga. Nyamigyezi's doctors and fortune-tellers advised him that Gihanga would overthrow the Bazigaba dynasty, and that Banyiginya would take the throne. Therefore Kanyamigyezi sought to kill Gihanga, but the latter escaped to Muduga and thence to Bugoyi where he found asylum with the Mukama of the Bagahe, Zeni son of Rugahe. Eventually he married Zeni's daughter Nyamususa, who gave birth to his son, named Kanyarwanda Gahima I.

Ultimately Gihanga returned to Rwanda where the Banyiginya nicknamed him 'Gihana Ngomijana', meaning 'adviser to a hundred regimes'. He was fond of presenting cows to people. When Gahima died, his son Kanyarwanda Gahima overthrew the Bazigaba dynasty, and some of the Bazigaba were scattered to Byumba in Buhara, while others went to Kyanamira, in 1131 A.D. Nyamigyezi's son, Rwihura, remained in Mubari. He was succeeded by his son Bikyezi, who in turn was succeeded by his son Chombeka, who decided in 1152 to go to Byumba.⁽¹⁾

Mwami Yuhi II Gahima of Rwanda attacked and killed Chombeka in Byumba, so that the Bazigaba fled with their drum Murorwa. The second drum — Kabitwa — was captured by Banyiginya who re-named it Muhabura (meaning 'guide'). The man who captured the drum was Gasakuru, the progenitor of the Basakuru. He and his brother Gakona settled at Kurukuro, where they founded a village called Iremera. The place-name implies that it had heavy stones, and I saw the two particular stones myself in 1920. Gasakuru remained there, but Gakona came to Bufumbira, where he became the progenitor of the Bazigaba who live in Bufumbira, particularly at Bubaga, Nyakabande and Karaboshya.

The Bazigaba are remembered particularly, on account of the brave Nyakeirima ka Muzora, the son of Katulu, the son of Bwengye, the son of Kumanya, the son of Byororwa, the son of Rubaka, the son of Kagambirwe, the son of Kazigaba II.

The sub-sections of the clan are: Banyangabo, Bagabira, Baruru, Basingora, Batendura, Basakuru, Bakoko, Baguguna from Nyarusiza, Bakomeza from Busanza, Batakara from Mariba and Gitale in Nyakabande, Bahungura (descendants of Kahungura, son of Grahua, son of Nkara. Nkara was also the father of Kagara, and great grandfather of Bagara who are also known as Batyaba.) The Bazigaba who remained in Rwanda were descendants of Nkwaya son of Muvunyi. They are now known as Batusi. Other Bazigaba, particularly in Byumba, live in areas which were absorbed into Rwanda after the partition of Africa. The Bazigaba of Byumba are in fact Bakiga.⁽²⁾

2. *Bagahe*. They arrived in Kigezi in 1400, from Rwanda, where they had occupied Buhandagara, Muduga, Kigango, Bunyambiriri, Buhoma and Bugoyi. The first Mugahe to arrive was Nkurunkumbi, a kinsman of Ruganzu. Ruganzu's sister, Robwa, was the wife of the Mukama of the Bagyesera, who lived in Gisaka. Ruganzu's fortune-tellers warned him that Robwa's son would combine Rwanda and Gisaka, overthrowing the Banyiginya dynasty. The Banyiginya despatched Nkurunkumbi to assassinate Robwa before she gave birth to a son. Nkurunkumbi feigned sickness in order to evade his mission. When the Banyiginya persisted, he pretended to be dead, and so Ruganzu had to attack the Bagyesera himself. He provoked them to war by alleging that they had hunted and killed some animals in his territory. In the war Ruganzu was killed; and when his sister Robwa heard the sad news she committed suicide. In the ensuing political instability Nkurunkumbi escaped to

Kigezi. He is the Founder of the following sub-clans: Babanda, Bacucu, Bayundo and Baheesi. These sections were augmented by other sections of Bagahe from Buhangandara, Induga, Bugoyi, Bunyambiriri, and Kishari in Congo. The Bagahe also include Bakongwe and Basinga, descendants of Nsinga son of Rugahe.⁽³⁾

3. *Bagyesera*. They are believed to have arrived in 1430, from Gisaka in Rwanda, where they were ruled by Kimenyi son of Ruhinda. The Banyiginya devised a means of killing Kimenyi of the Bagyesera, in order to avenge the death of Ruganzu. They asked Mukubu to pretend to have been deported, and to seek asylum with Kimenyi. The plan was executed, and Kimenyi received Mukubu well, making him his own servant. One day when they were hunting together, Mukubu seized the opportunity to kill Kimenyi. He cut off Kimenyi's head and brought the trophy to Kirima Rugwe, Mwami of Rwanda, as evidence. Leaderless and fearing Banyiginya domination, many Bagyesera fled from Gisaka and settled in Kigezi. Their sub-clans in Kigezi are: Bagyeoyo, Bashambo, Bagunga, Bazobiki, Barunga, Baishikatwa and Batuga. The Bagyesera in Bufumbira claim the following ancestry: they claim to be descendants of Kirunga Kyabatema, the son of Nvano, the son of Kimenyi, the son of Ruhinda, the son of Kagesera.⁽⁴⁾
4. *Basigi*. They came to Kigezi in 1450. They are supposed to have originated in Buganza in Congo. From there, via Bwisha, Rutshuru and Bugoyi they arrived in Rwanda, where they were known as Bajubi (or in Kinyarwanda, Bavubyi), meaning rain-makers. In 1450 Mwami Kigeri I Mukobanya of Rwanda attacked them. The Banyiginya killed the Basigi clan-leader, Migina son of Minyaruko, son of Nyamikenke, a rain-maker. They also looted much property. The frightened Basigi escaped via Iremera and Buberuka, to Bukamba and Bufumbira. Others settled in Bufundi, whence some crossed lake Bunyonyi and settled in Rubona. Kahanya (nick-named Kasigi) is the progenitor of the following clan-heads: Kandari, Nzira, Kahiga, Njara, Kasaka, Rukamba, Kazoba, and Kahaka. Other significant numbers of Basigi from Buganza included Kibira son of Mwandabuko, son of Muganza, son of Rubuzibwa. Others came from around lake Rwitanzigye, and included the Bagina, Bakonjo, Barundo, Bahundu, Batimbo and Bashaki. Their taboo is a cow with a spotted skin, because most Basigi lost their lives in conflict with Banyiginya over such an animal. The skin of this cow was used by the Banyiginya to make a drum called Karinga. It was initially called Rwoga, but after they had defeated the Basigi the Banyiginya re-named the drum Inganzi Karinga to commemorate their victory.⁽⁵⁾
5. *Bagiri*. The taboo was a skin used for clothing. They came to Rukiga in about 1522 to escape persecution by Yuhi II Gahima, Mwami of Rwanda. The Banyiginya selected Mwatanyi, one of the Bagiri, as sacrifice to their gods to ensure victory in battle against the Bagiri. Mwatanyi's brother Kiruguta (who was the son of Nzinya, son of Ruziga, son of Ngerageze, son of Mukimbiri, son of Sekayumbu, son of Mwezantandi, son of Ntandayera, son of Mukono) made Mwatanyi escape by

persuading him that they were going hunting. He built a house in Nyakabande on a hill near Nkomero in Gakenye. The hill is now called Bukimbiri. Here Kiruguta left his brother while he himself returned to Rwanda. In 1700 Kiruguta fled from Rwanda with all the property of himself and his younger brother, and came to live at Bukimbiri. When Murenganshuro, son of the Bagiri clan had spread throughout the area across lake Murebe, namely Muhanga. Later they spread from there into Rukiga, Rujumbura, Nkore and Ibinja and Kikombe in Congo. Other Bagiri sub-clans came later, namely the Bagwene, Bagyega, Bajingwe, Bahimba, Bahundu, Banyabwoya (descendants of Kinyabwoya), and Bazigye. Of these, the Bahimba, to escape persecution, passed through Bugoyi, Rutshuru, Mushinda, Muganza and thus to Rubanda. They are said to be descendants of Rugiri, son of Sekayumbu, son of Mwezentandi, son of Ntandayera, son of Mukono. Another group of Bahimba are supposed to be descendants of Muhimba son of Rugiri, thereby demonstrating their relationship to the Bagiri.⁽⁶⁾

6. *Bagara*. They were also known as *Batyaba*. They are descendants of Kagara, son of Gahu, son of Nkara, who was a Muzigaba. Kagara's mother was Nyirarutyaba, daughter of Gihanga. Gihanga had two wives, Nyamususa the daughter of Zeni Omusinga, and Nyirampiringwe the daughter of Rwamba Omukono or Omugiri. One day Gihanga was hunting and killed an animal (known as *enkanda* in Rukiga, and as *impwi* in Kinyarwanda). His wives both wanted the skin, and a fight broke out. Nyamususa was rescued by her daughter Nyirarutyaba, who struck Nyirampiringwe in the stomach. The blow induced the premature birth of Kifomu Kahima. Nyirampiringwe, however, died, and Nyirarutyaba fled in fear of her father's wrath. She joined the Bazigaba, and married Gahu, son of Nkara, and their first son was named Kagara. From that time onwards the skin of the disputed animal became the taboo of the Bagara. When Gihanga returned he found a wife dead and his daughter fled. Later he fell ill. When Nyirarutyaba heard the news she took medicine in a pot of milk to her father. Gihanga, having cursed and disowned her, refused to let her approach him: but she went behind his house and smuggled the milk in to him, returning home with an empty pot. When Gihanga recovered, he ordered his servants to locate Nyirarutyaba, and to find out which cow had produced the medicinal milk. His servants found Gahu's home and raided the cattle. The Bazigaba pursued the raiders, but the Banyiginya told them to pay the bride-price for Nyirarutyaba. When Gahu sent the bride-price he also sent Kagara, since he had been born before the bride-price was paid. Kagara grew up at his grand-father's home, and when he came of age a wife was provided for him by his grand-father. Kagara's children were called *Batyaba*, after Kagara's mother. As the Bagara increased in number, they resented being identified by a woman's name, so they abandoned the *Batyaba* and built separate settlements. They installed their own leader Nzira, son of Muramira. Eventually Nzira was killed by Mwami Ruganzu II Ndori of Rwanda. The Bagara were

scattered, and in 1750 came to Rukiga. Strictly speaking, the Bagara can be divided into Batsyaba and Bashonde.⁷

7. *Barihira*. They came from Impumbi in Congo, thence to Bwamba and later to Kigezi. Others settled first at Ishinda, then passed through Bwishya and Bugoyi to Rwanda near lake Kihirwa, and from there came into Kigezi. The Barihira include the following sub-clans:— Batyaba, Batambara, Bufungurira and Bachayungura.⁸

8. *Bungura*. They are also known as Bainika. They came from Congo, specifically from a place called Bwitu Ishari Buhunde near Burega. They came as hunters and their route lay through Kisharu. Others passed through Bwishya and Bugoyi, and settled in Rwanda at Bushiru, Mubuhanga, Mubuhoma and Bukamba. Thence some decided to come to Kigezi. The Bungura, also known as Bainika (and in Kinyarwanda, Abinika) are descendants of Kainika, so called because he was a hunter and used to trap animals. The Bainika are more numerous in Congo than in Rwanda and Kigezi, since Congo is their original home. They may be divided into the following sub-clans:— Bainika, Bashendwa and Babanza who live in Bufumbira.⁽⁹⁾

Clan Taboos

The Bazigaba avoid leopard.

Bagahe avoid "engobe", a black and grey cow.

Bagyesera avoid "enkende", a cow with a particular stripe.

Barihira avoid "engobe".

Bagiri avoid a skin used for clothing.

Bagara avoid "ekiko", or hibiscus abyssinica. Some children observed these across a river, mistook them for sorghum, and drowned in trying to reach them.

Bungura avoid human milk. Any young mother sleeping away from home was obliged to drink medicine before suckling her child. One Mungura mother suckled her child without taking these precautions, and the baby died.

Though each clan tended to have its own village and its own ruler, inter-marriage took place between clans, and there were alliances between some clans. Blood-brotherhood between two individuals might affect relations between their two clans, so that each would be reluctant to offend members of the related clan. Sufficiently good relations existed between the eight clans. No single county is composed of a single clan.

Clan elders in the sub-counties of Bufumbira.

Nyarusiza.

Birahira, son of Mpemuye, was the leader of Bagara in Gitenderi.

Ruzigura, son of Rugabuka, was the leader of Bagiri in Nyagisenyi.

Gatangaza, son Semitobotobo, was the leader of Basinga Bagahe in Mabungo.

Sebihogo, son of Bisogo, was the leader of Bagiri in Sagitwe.
Kagina, son of Gekeri, was the leader of Bazigaba in Karaboshya.
Rukara, son of Bikorabagabo, was the leader of Basinga in Muramba.

Chahi.

Ntwari, son of Masaki, was the leader of Bagiri in Chahi.
Nvunumwami, son of Ngambuye, was the leader of Bagyesera in Kintare.
Semarora, son of Bamukumura, was the leader of Bagyesera in Rwaramba.
Mutega, son of Bitwayiki, was the leader of Basinga in Mukiduha.
Mpatswe, son of Kabanza, was the leader of Bungura in Mugiseke.
Mutesi, son of Nturu, was the leader of Barihira in Nyamagana and Gahama.
Rugema, son of Kajuga, was the leader of Bagyesera in Busamba.
Kijugumba, son of Rwubakande, was the leader of Bagara is Muganza.
Serukoko, son of Chyaka, was the leader of Bungura in Nyakabingo.

Nyakabande.

Mushakamba, son of Bivange, was the leader of Basinga in Gisereri.
Nyandwi, son of Rusaku, was the leader of Bungura in Kibumba.
Buhiribwe, son of Mweko, was the leader of Bagara in Karago.
Muhangara, son of Nfashingabo, was the leader of Bazigaba in Mariba and Kugitare.
Mwakwari, son of Sehejuru, was the leader of Bagiri in Kigezi village and Chyangabo.
Sebuharara, son of Kizima, was the leader of Bagyesera in Gasiza and Mutolere.
Nyanda, son of Mabumba, was the leader of Barihira in Matinza.
Bwire, son of Matanga, was the leader of Bagara in Rwingwe and Gakoro.
Sebisaba, son of Semitengo, was the leader of Bagiri in Busozi.
Murindwa, son of Muhima, was the leader of Bagyesera in Basanzura and Matinza.
Ngirabanzi, son of Nyangabo, was the leader of Bungura in Butongo.

Bukimbiri.

Bigemano, son of Bujara, son of Mwendo, son of Kagazi was the leader of Bagiri in Muhanga.
Rwempumbya, son of Mayaya, was the leader of Bagiri in Gisekeke.
Karabamu, son of Kanyabutumbi, was the leader of Bagiri in Birara.
Bishaho, son of Kibona, son of Kagunzu, was the leader of Bazigaba in Butare and Butengo.
Karindugu, son of Kanyeihamba, was the leader of Basigi in Mukamiro.
Mukobe, son of Mureakabi, was the leader of Bazigaba in Kagasha and Kara.
Ruhuku, son of Mutereri, was the leader of Bagiri in Kasheke and Kabitojo.
Rwangerare, son Baryamujura, son of Kasindikira, was the leader of Bagiri in Rugarombiro.
Baryamujura, son Ndagara, was the leader of Bagiri in Rusave.
Rwanjogera, son of Katagu, was the leader of Bagiri in Nyundo.
Kamegeri, son of Bahira, was the leader of Bazigaba in Musezero and Kagera.

Ruvamwabo, son of Muhabura, was the leader of Bagyesera in Mukozi and Kamakoma.

Ntambara, son of Muryama, was the leader of Bagara in Mutanda near lake Mutanda.

Busanza.

Mugabyambere, son of Rutunganya, was the leader of Bagara in Ruseke and Gakoro.

Kajuga, son of Murinda, was the leader of Bagara in Nshungwe.

Ntahobari, son of Murabuke, was the leader of Bagyesera in Murundi and Buraza.

Nyirimpunga, son of Bihira, was the leader of Bakono Bagiri in Nshungwe and Gatera.

Bugiri, son of Murusha, was the leader of Basinga Bagahe in Gitovu.

Rubanzangabo, son of Muzora, was the leader of Basigi in Nyarurangara and Kirambo.

Hagumakamwe, son of Mbonyebyombi, was the leader of Bagyesera in Kaburasazi and Kinamira.

Bizabavako, son of Nkundabanyanga, was the leader of Bagara in Buhodi.

Birere, son of Nzeyimwami, was the leader of Banomezza Bazigaba in Busanani.

Kabaka, son of Matabi, was the leader of Bagara in Kihimbi.

Nyabwishenyi.

Mbuzehose, son of Gakyenkye, was the leader of Basigi in Kibugu.

Kirera, son of Rukara, was the leader of Bagara in Mwigari.

Kamugisha, son of Buhingwa, was the leader of Bagiri in Kirundo.

Kirongoro, son of Burwenyuma, was the leader of Bagiri in Igabiro and Rushabarara.

Ntibarura, son of Matongo, was the leader of Bagiri originating in Kashija in Rubuguri.

Biryo, son of Byandagara, was the leader of Bagyesera in Hanombe and Hamushenyi.

Birego, son of Kaguriro, was the leader of Basigi from Bahaya, in Nyabwishenya, Murori and Kikamo.

Sebintu, son of Byuma, was the leader of Bagyesera from Ruseresere, in Nyarutembe.

Kibira, son of Mwandambuko, from Muganza, was the leader of Basigi in Nteko and Mpimbi.

Kamara, son of Mpanju, son of Muramira, was the leader of Bagiri in Gis-haru, and Binja and Kikombe.

Sorcery, and religion.

"Olukago" refers to the practice of some cattle-owners, whereby a bull calf was trained to run and jump and make a great noise, so that cattle-thieves would be delayed. "Oruguriko" is a process whereby a thief became stuck to the subject of his theft. If the object was sorghum or maize, for

instance, he would be transfixed until the owner discovered him. Similarly the process could apply to adulterers. The offended husband would have time to gather men of his own and of his wife's clan to come and witness the adultery. The man committing adultery would then be ordered to produce a goat in order to appease the gods. When the clansmen had approved of the size of the goat offered, the husband would separate the couple by means of "orugisha". "Okushambya" often occurred if a witch-doctor found people drinking beer, and they refused to give him any. He would then make the drinkers fight each other, thereby spoiling the party, until the host offered him beer and asked him to restore order. If only one man refused to offer beer, the witch-doctor could charm him into paralysis while the others went on drinking. Another form of sorcery was to make the grinding stone from each of two homesteads meet and begin assaulting each other. This would continue until the doctor ordered them home. The same could be made to happen with the roofs of two granaries, which would subsequently be restored with no straws missing. A man might also charm his wife to prevent her from leaving home, however much he maltreated her. Or a girl who rejected all her suitors might be charmed so that she never married. If someone's property was stolen, or if his wife ran away, he might — after consulting his neighbours and clansmen — consult a witch-doctor. The doctor would come to the victim's compound, place a horn on the ground, and utter some words into it. Thereupon an "orutembe" tree, complete with roots, would roll to the doctor's feet. A huge snake would emerge from the tree, while the tree rolled back to its proper place. The doctor would order the snake to come to him, and would give it some juice squeezed from herbs, after which the snake would be instructed to go to the home of the man who had stolen the property or the wife. He would then plant a tree called "ekiko" in the compound, and there the snake would report the success of its mission. Animals and children were kept away from the tree; while the owner of the compound reported there regularly. If he found dead rats or dead birds there, he could assume that the snake had found and punished the culprits, whereupon he would go and reward the doctor.

There were prophets and fortune-tellers in Kigezi, most notably Nyakairima, son of Muzora. Another famous one was Nyiramiryango, a woman whom I once saw. There was a beer party at Balekye's, the son of Senzoga, a Muzigaba, and I and other children were watching. Nyiramiryango came and asked Balekye's mother, Nyamwiza, for food. After two mouthfuls she looked up as if she were choking. She said "Haa! Look at our king Rugaju, the holy one is crossing from the other side of the lake." Fixing her eyes in one direction she continued, "Eeeh! He is with men carrying bundles of hoes on their shoulders." She went on eating until suddenly her attention was distracted from the food, and she said "Look at that red snake tracing the way that king Rugaju passed. The snake is so long that it must be infinite and has never been seen anywhere before." As if in a trance she went on, "Look at the children pushing wheels, but following the path of the snake." After a short time she continued, "Eeeh! Look at the granary full of people, also following the path of the snake." We looked around anxiously, but saw nothing. Suddenly she looked up and said "Look

at the boat floating in the air carrying jubilant girls." Many people assumed that she was mad, and averted their eyes. Despairingly she concluded "Aiye! Alas I shall die before I see all these things."

In the same year she died. She had come from a place called Mpimbi in Congo. She was tall and very dark, and used to wear bead decorations around her head. In 1910 we saw the English and Germans and Belgians, and their askaris carrying guns on their shoulders. This reminded us of Nyiramiryango. Her prophecy might be interpreted as follows: king Rugaju represented the Europeans, the bundles of hoes the guns, the infinite snake the road system, the children's wheels the bicycles, the garahary the motor car, and the boat in the air the aeroplane, whose engine noise might sound like jubilant girls.

There were many gods, but the greatest was Ryangombe. He was of the Bega clan, the son of Babinga of Nyundo. He used to hunt with three friends Mugasha, Binegu son of Kajumba, and Muhima Chili. Ryangombe was gored to death by a buffalo, and later his three friends shared the same fate. Other hunters began to worship Ryangombe's spirit, in order to be protected from Buffaloes. Other people adopted the cult, and also worshipped his friends as lesser deities. Each clan had a leader — "omubandisa", usually one of the oldest men — who conducted the ceremonies. On these occasions he would wear, upside down, the skins of animals known as "enjebe", "emondo" and "engeyo". Round his head he would wear monkey skins decorated with beads and flowers. He sat on a chair with a pot of beer before him, called "amachezi", which was drunk only by old men and women. A smaller pot of beer was also placed before him, and another small pot containing beer and various flowers. A fourth pot of beer was placed near him, called "amatahe", and it was this beer that the young people, who were not worshippers, could drink. Then omubandisa sipped a mouthful of beer. Women with male children brought them before him, and he spat the beer on each child, saying "Never suffer from skin diseases or any other disease". Then he dipped the flowers in the water pot and sprinkled the congregation, so as to bless those on whom it fell. There was always a scramble to be sprinkled by this water. Then he invited the old people to sip the beer in front of him, saying to each man "Omurenderi nyunya amacwezi", and to each woman "omwari nyunya amacwezi", both meaning 'sip this beer'. When they had drunk, they danced and sang in a language which was not their mother tongue — usually Rutwa or Ruhunde — praising their gods thus: "Win Ryangombe son of Babinga of Nyundo", "Win Mugasha", "Win Binegu son of Kajumba", and "Win Muhima". The women would hop on one leg like children, while omubandisa rocked in his chair to the rhythm of the music.

When it was time for omubandisa to go home, he installed a successor in case he himself became ill or died. He would authorise another old man to sit in the chair. First, the candidate would kneel before omubandisa, who dipped his fingers in the water pot and sprinkled the candidate's neck, saying "You will be feared by evil spirits and enemies". Sprinkling water on the candidate's chest, he would say "Have peace at home, have many children,

and be prosperous." Sprinkling the right shoulder, he would say "Be great and tower high above all men." Finally omubandisa would declare the candidate responsible for conducting the ceremony of worshipping Ryango-mbe whenever he himself was indisposed or dead. With these words the crowd would jump with joy and dance all over the place.

Nyabingi.

Nyabingi was a woman of the Bagyesera clan in Nkore, before the area was called Nkore, and was still known as Bugyesera. The name Nkore originated with Baganda attacks. When the Baganda realised that the area was a good one, they named it "Nkole-Bukole", meaning that God favoured its creation. From Nkole-Bukole derived the name Nkore. However, while it was still named Bugyesera, it was ruled by Nyabingi, who enjoyed the status of queen. She met a handsome man named Muhinda, one of the hamitic Banyiginya from Rwanda. He told her that he sought refuge from the Mwami of Rwanda, whose reputation was challenged by Muhinda's bravery. Nyabingi sympathised and agreed to keep him in her palace. He found it easy to integrate in the community, for genealogical reasons. Muhinda was the son of Mwendo, son of Nsoro, the brother of Ruganzu Bwihinda, who was the father of Kirima Rugwe Mwendo. Muhinda was charged with plotting to kill Kirima Rugwe, so that Mwendo might rule. When the ruler fell ill, therefore, Muhinda was suspected of having poisoned him. Consequently he fled, first to Karagwe, and then to Nkore, where he is alleged to have become the father of all succeeding Bagabe. In any case, the Bagyesera who were dominant in Nkore were the local counter-parts of the Banyiginya in Rwanda, of which the Bahinda were a sub-group.⁽¹⁰⁾

Muhinda sought permission to return home to bring his children, promising that they would become servants of Nyabingi. Meanwhile Nyabingi was becoming very unpopular. In the mornings, instead of settling her subjects's disputes, she devoted herself to domestic work and to beautifying herself. While she was so occupied Muhinda consulted her subjects, heard their problems, and gave them advice. One evening Nyabingi was drunk, and while she slept she was assassinated by Muhinda and her own servants. The following day Muhinda announced that she had died a sudden but natural death. She left no children, and therefore the elders chose Muhinda, who they regarded as Nyabingi's son, and because many people admired his ability as a judge and adviser. They also felt that he would be an improvement upon Nyabingi, as he was a very industrious man.

Some time later, Nkore was struck by severe drought. When the witch-doctors were consulted they attributed the drought to Nyabingi. People thereupon began to worship her spirit in order to break the drought. The Banyarwanda also adopted the belief, sometimes referring to Nyabingi as 'Biheko'. Because Nyabingi originated in Nkore, the worshipper had to use some Runyankore words in addressing her, whatever his own tongue might be. From this period the 'bagirwa' may be dated — priests or spokesmen for Nyabingi, through whom requests had to be made, and for whose services people had to give presents of cows, goats, sheep, beer or a young girl, depending upon the gravity or complexity of request. If the

Mugirwa liked the girl, she would not marry, but would live in Nyabingi's hut. Young men would fear to court her, lest Nyabingi kill them. When the Mugirwa died, the girl might succeed him, and the people would believe that Nyabingi had chosen her as a servant. It was also believed that, if Nyabingi required the service of a married woman, she could cause her to leave her husband for a year for that purpose. If the mugirwa selected a girl, but Nyabingi rejected her, she might be given in marriage to a man, as a sign of disapproval.

The Mugirwa was well prepared to impress people. When they came to consult him, he sat on a chair and leaned against the wall of a closed room, in which Nyabingi was supposed to be present, and from which she would answer prayers. The Mugirwa held one end of a piece of string which ran through a hole in the wall and was attached to calabashes within. Inside the closed room were a strong young man and a girl tending a fire. When the Mugirwa had heard the people's requests, he would address Nyabingi thus: "Great queen, Saviour of your Servants, listen to your servants complaints." He then clapped his hands, pulled the string and made the calabashes rumble the young man leaned against the strongest pole in the house and shook it. The girl placed some perfumed wood in the fire, so that the odour permeated the house. This was supposed to be a warning that Nyabingi was coming. The people who had come with requests would clap their hands in reverence and respect. Soon afterwards the girl in the inner room would enumerate the list of presents required, upon which the people would again clap their hands in gratitude. They then went home to prepare the presents, which might involve butchering a bull, or bringing live-stock or a girl or lesser items. The presents were usually handed over after the solution of the problem. In the event of the people being unable to assemble all the required presents, a daughter of the house might be accepted instead.

The Coming of the Banyiginya to Bufumbira.

The first Munyiginya in Bufumbira was Murenganshuro, son of Yuhi Gahima, in about 1550 A.D., during the reign of Ndahira II. He came with his cattle and his herdsmen, and found that Bufumbira was ideally suited for grazing. There was short grass, and the local Bahutu produced large quantities of food. He returned to Rwanda to bring all his cattle, and he passed on the news to some other Batusi, who also came to Bufumbira. Some Bahutu also came when they learned that they would be able to grow good crops. Murenganshuro concentrated on his cattle, giving some to his Bahutu friends. His single bid for power, however, was frustrated when the clan leaders declined to accept his rule, after which he reverted to simple pastoralism. Eventually Murenganshuro and his friends returned to Rwanda, taking their cattle, and accompanied by some Bufumbira Bahutu who had become his clients.

Another Munyiginya, Mwangabwoba, came around 1700 during the reign of Yuhi III Mazimpaka. He came specifically to rule, but once again he was frustrated by the opposition of the clan leaders, and returned to

Rwanda. He was followed by Buuki, son of Muhabwa, a Mugahe and one of the Basinga sub-clan. He is believed to have come around 1865 during the reign of Mwami Rwabugiri. He too sought power, and enjoyed the Mwami's support, in the form of royal troops to fight for him and instal him as ruler. After fierce resistance by the Bahutu, Buuki occupied Bukamba, Jomba and Kyante. During this phase of the struggle Buuki's son killed Nyabingi's Mugirwa Kahugeiguru (her name meant 'skin from heaven') from Kyante. With re-inforcements from the Barera in Rwanda, Buuki over-ran Bufumbira and turned his attention to Rukiga. During the Rukiga campaign Buuki's forces included Bafumbira and Barera, and there are thought to have been many casualties. The conflict inaugurated the long hostility between Bufumbira and Bakiga, which is evidenced by the absence of inter-marriage between the two groups. Buuki's targets included Bufumbi and Bukimbiri. Being unable to break the resistance of the Bakiga, he appealed to Rwabugiri for re-inforcements, and when these were forthcoming he managed to over-run Rukiga as well. In the process Kamanzi, a military hero and son-in-law of Rwabugiri, was killed.

Rwabugiri built a palace at Muganza and at Mabungo, and brought his daughter Beerabose and his son Nyindo to occupy these residences. He then pressed his campaign onwards into Nkore. Meanwhile, however, Buuki's rule became increasingly oppressive and unpopular, amongst the Bahutu in Bufumbira. Observing Buuki's unpopularity Rwabugiri appointed Muvunandinda, son of Gafiri, of the Bega clan, to help in the administration. He came as a saviour. Unlike Buuki he was not harsh, and he permitted the Bafumbira to rule themselves at the lower levels of organisation and administration. He appointed elders for each clan or village, to settle minor disputes. Over these elders he appointed one elder in each place, to whom the others were responsible, and who in turn was directly responsible to Muvunandinda. This elder approximated to today's gombolola chief. The following are some of those appointed by Muvunandinda: Birahira, son of Mpimuye, of the Bagara clan, in Nyarusiza; Mutesi, son of Nturu, of the Barihira clan, in Chahi; Mushakamba, son of Birangye, of the Bagahe clan, in Nyakabande; Katuregye, son of Kamushwa, of the Bagahe clan, in Bufundi; Bigyemano, son of Bujara, son of Mwendo, son of Kagazi, of the Bagiri clan, in Bukimbiri and in Nyabwishenyi; Hagumakamwe, son of Mbonyebyombi, of the Bagyesera clan, in the area between Kahiza, Kinamira; and Nyarimpunga, son of Bihira, of the Bagiri clan, in the area between Busengo, Rubona in Gitovu, and as far as Kirambo. In this way Muvunandinda earned a reputation and popularity in Bufumbira. When he returned to Rwanda he was succeeded by Nyindo who preserved the status quo and was therefore equally popular. He liked the Bahutu, and gave cattle to some of them. He was still the ruler when the Europeans came. Being himself a hunter, he admired other successful hunters, and would give cattle to any Muhutu hunter.

The Batwa Rebellion.

There was a Mutusi girl named Nyirantwari, who regrettably fell pregnant though not legally married. In accordance with traditional practice,

she was taken and thrown into the forest. In fact she was tied to a tree on a swampy island. It happened that a Mutwa hunter named Nteko saw her while he was hunting, by which time she was nearly dead of starvation. He released her and took her to his home as his wife. Their first son was named Basebya, and he resembled the Batusi rather than the Batwa. When he grew up he went to the Mwami of Rwanda, Rwabugiri, to join the corps of professional dancers (entole).

On Rwabugiri's death in 1896, Basebya sought to turn the confusion to his advantage and seize power for himself. He left Nyanza in Rwanda and came to Mukyante, where he began to train Batwa and Bahutu as soldiers. He used these troops to loot property, and eventually became a ruler. He appointed a Mutwa, named Kiraho, as his chief adviser, and Kiraho himself became a Mugirwa of Nyabingi. The situation was worsened by the Rwaramba famine of 1905. Kiraho invaded Bukimbiri, but encountered strong resistance from the Bakiga, who killed a Mutwa military hero named Senzoga, the son of a woman named Nyiramuhinyora, and thereby defeated the invaders. Queen Nyirayuhi, mother of Mwami Musinga of Rwanda, used Batusi warriors and declared war on the Batwa. Basebya's men, both Batwa and Bahutu, inflicted heavy casualties on Nyirayuhi's forces, including the death of a brilliant warrior named Mahiryoli. In despair, she sought the aid of the Germans who had just arrived in Rwanda. The relieving forces were led by Rwubusisi, a Mutusi. His men concealed their guns and took the field against the Batwa. Then Rwubusisi tricked Basebya. He sent for Basebya, saying that Nyirayuhi wished to thank him for killing Mahiryoli, who was mad and who had been unfairly hostile to the Batwa. Basebya duly met Rwubusisi at the home of Mihayo, a Mutusi. Rwubusisi gave him beer, and they began to drink while Rwubusisi's warriors were concealed in one of Mihayo's rooms. He also presented a leopard's skin to Basebya. When Basebya had drunk the beer he fell asleep, and when he awoke he discovered that he was in handcuffs. He was tied with ropes taken to Nyanza, and killed. Some of the Batwa were shot, others fled from the area, and order was thereby restored.⁽¹¹⁾

References.

1. The author has derived his dates from Rwanda's traditional historian Kagame, who is now regarded with some suspicion by professional historians. Both the age and the extent of the Rwanda kingdom have been exaggerated. Mr. Rwandusya's dates, therefore, should not be accepted as accurate. The relationships between Rwanda clans has been derived from Rwanda court historians, and should be regarded as popular myths, possibly based upon hard evidence, but also attempting to integrate the Rwanda clans into a united nation.
2. Ngologoza, in *Kigezi and its People*, (EALB 1969) P 5, provides a slightly different list of sub-clans. Since he is describing clans among the Bakiga, this is not surprising.
3. Ngologoza, *loc. cit.*, again differs marginally. He names the whole group Ba-Kinyagi.

4. Ngologoza, loc. cit., again differs.
5. While some Basigi may well have entered Kigezi several centuries ago, more recent research suggests that the bulk of them left Busigi in Rwanda in the late nineteenth century.
6. Ngologoza, loc. cit., again differs.
7. Ngologoza, loc. cit., names the whole group of clans Ba-Mugera.
8. Ngologoza, loc. cit., names this group Ba-Korobwa.
9. Ngologoza, loc. cit., names this group Ba-Muhutu. In addition to Rwandusya's eight clans, Ngologoza adds a very small group known as Ba-Mwisya.
10. The origin of the Nyabingi cult is more commonly attributed to Mpororo, where a queen, Kitami, was deposed and replaced by Bashambo rulers in the early eighteenth century. Bugyesera, which Rwandusya asserts is in Nkore, is now in fact in eastern Rwanda.
11. On Rwanda-Bufumbira relations in the nineteenth century, see P. Mateke, "The Struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira," in *Uganda Journal* 1970.

CHAPTER THREE

Foundations of Rujumbura Society.⁽¹⁾

by S. R. Baitwababo

Rujumbura is the northern part of Kigezi District. Geographically and historically it has much in common both with its eastern neighbours, the counties of Western Ankole, and with the Southern areas. The name is said to have been derived from a small hill, one mile south of Rukungiri, named Karujumbura. Why the hill should have given a name to the area is yet unknown.

A history of Rujumbura has yet to be written. So far, the only attempt available is the author's preliminary - study "Bashambu Rule in Rujumbura" - which forms a chapter in Ngano (2) The work mainly concentrated on the political aspects of society. The present survey aims at a more comprehensive work.

The present county is much larger than its historical namesake. It now includes the north-west portion, formerly the kingdom of Kuvumbu, the north eastern part of Oruhinda, and Rujumbura proper, covering the southern portion of the country. The country is a hilly plateau rising to a height of 5,000 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by a river system which makes it more or less an island. A hilly range divides the area into portions, the northern Oruhinda being hilly, and the more undulating south is Rujumbura proper, the home of cattle in days past. To the East is the Maramagambo forest. The rift valley hill system rises gradually until it evens out in the general plateau between 4-5,000 feet. Apart from forests, the general flora has always been rolling grass interspersed with shrubs and trees in the valley. The area is rather well watered except for some areas in the east which experience water shortage in the dry season.

Physical features favoured animal life in general and man in particular. The soil conditions permitted the raising of crops and the breeding of animals. Wild fauna abounded - antelope, buffaloes, pigs, hyenas and birds of all kinds. Domesticated animals could thrive. Dual economic activity, namely agriculture and pastoralism, was practicable. The nature of the land permitted the easy movement of people to and from the area. The interaction of various groups is the theme of Rujumbura's history in precolonial times.

The people of Rujumbura called themselves Banyarujumbura and were called the same by the people of Igara and Kajara. The Bakiga and people of Butumbi called them Bahororo. Bahororo are what anthropologists call a tribe. It has subdivisions called clans and subclans or lineages. The terms

Bahororo or Bakiga do not denote groups related by blood, but people some of whom may be related, inhabiting the same geographical area. The Bahororo are not a homogeneous people but do live in an area known to their neighbours as Mpororo.

Mpororo was the land south of Nkore, and north of Rwanda and the Bakiga county. Its borders were always fluid and indeterminate. Bahororo differed from the Bakiga and Banyabutumbi neighbours in that they spoke a different dialect of a related language and were more slender in build. Among themselves they called themselves Bairu or Bahima, but collectively the members were known according to where they lived as Banyarujumbura, Banyakajara or Banyabutaye.

The meaningful division common to both Bahima and Bairu is that of clan - "ruganda". A number of clans can be grouped in an association called "ekibunu" or "muryango". The clans of Rujumbura can be grouped into four classes or "Bibunu" as follows :- Bazigaba, Bashambo, Baitira and Baishekatwa.³

THE MAIN CLANS OF RUJUMBURA

<i>BAZIGABA</i>	<i>BASHAMBO</i>	<i>BAITIRA</i>	<i>BAISHEKATWA</i>
Bagahe	Banzira	Bahinda	Bairuntu
Basingo	Batsyaba	Bakimbiri	
Baranzi	Banyabusano	Barima	
	Bararire		

Each clan has a taboo, an animal or insect that the members may not touch or eat. It is called a totem or "muziro". The basis of the above classification is that clans share an association called "Bukumbi". Clan members who are "bakumbi" regard themselves as having some sort of affinity. When they meet they crack jokes about each other without taking offence. People sharing the same totem have an endogamy bar. They may not inter-marry. There is no such bar among "bakumbi". Some clans e.g. some of the Bashambo group permit endogamy.

BUKUMBI CHART

<u>ORUGANDA</u> (CLAN)	<u>BAKUMBI</u>	<u>ORUGANDA</u>	<u>BAKUMBI</u>
Bazigaba	Bagahe	Baitira	Bakimbiri
Bagahe	Bazigaba	Bahinda	(Baitira
Basingo	Bagahe	Bakimbiri	(Bakimbiri
			Baitira
Bashambo)	Batsyaba	Baishekatwa	Bairuntu
Banzira)	(Bashambo	Bairuntu	Baishekatwa
Batsyaba	(Banzira		

Owing partly to the existence of a centralized institution clans in this area do not possess a coherent body of traditions. Most recall short genealogies going only a few decades back. It is therefore not possible as yet to determine the origins of most groups as the remembered places are those of immediate, not ultimate, origin. Clans in the past lived in compact units, but have spread out since the advent of colonial rule. Of those groups inhabiting the area at the close of the last century, the largest in terms of numbers and subdivisions is that of the Bazigaba. Their totem is the antelope "Engabi". The following are some of the lineages:-

Bajumura, Bataizi, Baruru, Bajara.

The clan is spread all over Rujumbura. Without exception all these groups claim origin from "Mubari" a place on the present border of Rwanda and Tanzania.

Their Bakumbi, Bagahe, are another big clan. Their totem is "ngobe" or "kinya" a cow of greyish brown colour. The immediate origin of the group is Rwanda. Another associated group is Basingo. Their totem is "omurara" but in most places they have none. This clan has long been associated with Nkore and Bunyoro and is absent in south Kigezi. The probability is that it entered through Nkore. It is, however, together with Bahinda and Baitira one of the oldest groups.

The Baitira have human milk "ameshereka" as their totem. Together with their Bakumbi Bahinda they entered by way of Nkore. The Bahinda claim to originate from Karagwe. Their totem is a monkey. There are some Baitira groups like the "Bakora" who came from the West, i.e. by way of Congo. It is unanimously agreed that the Baitira of Mariba in the south centre of Rujumbura are the oldest group in the area. It is said that along with Bakooko (Banzira) of Rushasha, the Bahinda of Nyakageme and the Baishekatwa (Bahima group) and later the Banyabusano, these are the oldest groups.

Another big clan is Bashambo. Bashambo are a Bahima group. There are Bairu associated groups locally called "Banzira" and in Nkore "Bahira." Their totem is "epu" an animal no longer in existence. Some lineages are :-

<i>Bahima</i>	<i>Bairu</i>
Banyamagamba	Bakooko
Bararira	Bahweju
Banyabusano	Babaga

Bashambo are fairly recent in the area. They entered by way of Rwanda but are said to have been living in Northern Uganda, by the 16th century. The Banyabusano. Bararira and Banyamugamba are older groups, which entered by way of Nkore. The Bairu groups also came by way of Igara and Nkore. The Bakumbi, the Batsyaba, are fairly large in distribution but have only one sub-group, the Bakyenkye. Their totem is a plant called "burunga". Their immediate origin was Rwanda.

The Bakimbiri whose totem is "kafute" (an animal born with legs first), are said to have come from Rwanda.

There are a number of clans which moved into Rujumbura at the end of the last century or at the beginning of this century due to the onslaught of Basigi or the great famine of Rwaranda. These are:-

Bahumbu)	
Bahingo)	Who lived in Kebisoni.
Bazobiki)	
Bashaki)	

and Baruru (Bazigaba) in Nyakabungo and Basharu (Bagahe) who live in Kigaga. These groups can be grouped the above scheme thus:-

Bahumbu	(Baitira)	Basharu	(Bazigaba)
Bahingo	(")	Bashaki	(")
Bazobiki	(Bashambo)	Baruru	(")

The study of clans, by no means exhaustive, shows the numerous problems involved. There have been many movements and interactions so that it is relatively difficult to establish chronology. Another important factor is that although the clans may have entered the area from different directions, the pointer is that the point of dispersal may be similar, that is somewhere to the West of Uganda. Consequently there appear three general points of entry. These are the Eastern through Nkore and possibly Bunyoro. The second is the Southern via Karagwe and Rwanda, and lastly the Western along the length of the present Congo border. By the beginning of the 19th century most of the above groups were already established.

The Pattern of Settlement

It cannot be established with any degree of precision when people first inhabited the area and for what reasons. Judging by the tone of the general studies of population patterns, the area has been inhabited for four or more centuries. What is certain is that most groups were in the area by the beginning of the 19th century. The population was never dense and by the end of the century following human and animal diseases, population was estimated at over 20,000 people.⁴

The motives for movement have always been

- (i) The pressure of circumstances — disease, beasts of prey or those which eat crops, famine, land hunger or enmity of neighbours or strangers.
- (ii) The other motive is voluntary, where people move to live with relatives or friends.

Apart from the Baitira of Mariba, all the earliest groups in Rujumbura occupied areas near the hills. For instance the Bahinda of Nyakageme,

Basingo of Bwanda. This implies that defence must have been foremost in the strategy of these groups.

As time went on, settlement patterns arose with the agriculturalists predominant in the hilly and mountainous areas while the pastoralists occupied the undulating plains. The population of this area, as in the whole Lake area, falls into the two groups of Bahima and Bairu, one exclusively pastoral and the other predominantly agricultural. The Bairu are believed to have been part of the Bantu invasion of East and Central Africa from the fringes of the equatorial forests. Physical appearance and way of life have incited people to link the Bahima with the populations of North East Africa. The differences, physical and otherwise, were said to be due to the fact that they belonged to two different races.

This theory is being rejected in favour of the one that states that the differences may have been caused by diet and living habits. Plausible as this explanation is, it does not explain why one of two groups living together, chose a diet of high protein and relatively easy life while the other opted for starchy food and a laborious life. In fact there is ample evidence to show that the Bairu have always attempted with little success to secure cattle and lead a pastoralist life. The theory of voluntary choice is too simple to stand. To reject the migration explanation is to forget that the process has not been a monopoly of Bahima (Bairu are not indigenous) but rather one in which all people from time immemorial have participated. There is no physical or geographical limitation that could have made Bahima movement from North East Africa impossible. In fact migration from different areas seems the only reasonable explanation of the whole phenomenon of Bairu and Bahima.

The different occupations would be explained by the fact that the pastoralists came into contact with cattle long before the agriculturalists and did their best to maintain a monopoly. In Nkore and Mpororo the evidence about relative chronology is scarce but it suggests that Bahima found Bairu living in the area. Here is a piece from Mpororo:—

"It is said that formerly this country was not ruled by Bahima but by Bairu. Then came Bahima with their cows and were allowed to live and pasture freely".

Mubangizi in a poetical form says of the people of Ankole:—

"There are two groups Bairu and Bahima. It is unknown where the two come from. The Mwiru, one never left behind, settled here first. The pastoralist, Kahima found him here!"⁵

In Rwanda and Bunyoro traditions are clear about these movements and can be dated.

The second aspect of the Bairu and Bahima problem is the fact that the latter invariably held political power while the former were subjects.

Increasing criticism has been directed at the theory of conquest, as the basis for the pastoral dominance. The conquest theory was given by the early colonial writers as the explanation for the *status quo*. Stated briefly, the theory held that the better organized Bahima moving into Bairu held areas defeated them and ruled them. Superiority in military organization was held to derive from the fact that their life was geared to the defence of cattle against animals and people and that consequently they made potentially better warriors.

This theory rests on an imaginary foundation of conflict between the two groups. It ignores the fact that the modes of life tended to be complementary in the first instance. Bairu food products were bartered for dairy products of Bahima and therefore they had little to quarrel for. So long as there was plenty of land, the agriculturalists inhabited the hills and valleys while the pastoralist favoured the plain as ideal for cattle where they roamed at will.

Present day conflicts between the agriculturalists and pastoralists over land arise because agriculture has expanded over the areas formerly exclusively for cattle. Conflicts tended to be between cultivators among themselves over land, and among pastoralists for reasons peculiar to their occupation.

A new school of thought favours the "economic" theory as responsible for the political hegemony of the Bahima.⁶ The theory states that the possession of cattle by Bahima, led Bairu to be associated with them as workers or partners in exchange. Cattle were desired by both groups because of meat, milk, butter and hides. The Bairu either worked for Bahima or exchanged agricultural products (especially millet) for dairy products. The relationship remained heavily weighed in favour of Bahima, since some dairy products especially butter used as oil for food and body lubricant were very necessary. So were hides. The desire for cattle led to gifts of beer and manual services much as mending of fences etc. In time, what had been voluntary gifts or duties could be transformed into regular remittances known as "kutoija" rendered inadequately in English as tribute.

This theory rests on the simple fact that Bairu no less than Bahima found cattle useful and did their best to acquire them. It is well known how the power of wealth and patronage produces political control. This is in accord with a local proverb that "He who has property is lord".⁷

Another possible method by which the political system may have further been consolidated may be the process of "periodic invasions and clashes". This is the process by which invading groups of pastoralists clashed with those already established resulting in the displacement of the political arrangements or in consolidating them.

This theory rests on two bases. First is the well known tendency of pastoralists to fight over cattle, water or pastures, as cultivators fight over land. There might be abundant land, but some pastures are better than

others, containing water, salt licks or mineral springs. Cattle have always been objects of contention among pastoralists and raiding has always been a commendable activity. The second consideration is the succession of migrations which have marked the population patterns of the interlacustine area.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY

1. *ECONOMIC MECHANISMS*: Historians are of the opinion that the first occupants of this part of the world were hunters and food gatherers.¹ This mode of life was possible owing to the abundance of wild fruits, roots, herbs, honey and wild game and bird life. These inhabitants retreated in the wake of the cultivator invasion which it is believed, formed part of the Bantu movement. Their relative success over the previous people was their knowledge of ironmaking as well as the possession of food plants. With iron they made weapons of offense and defence as well as tools for cultivation. As plants take time to ripen, a settled life became a necessity. Settled life on the other hand pushed both the forest and wild game farther away and this rather than armed confrontation pushed away the food gatherers.

(a) *IRON-WORKING*: For both the cultivators and the pastoralists, iron working was the chief craft. The raw material for iron was the ore called "Obutaare" which was smelted in the furnace called "iziko" where the charcoal was heated using a bellows (mujuba). The hot iron ore was shaped by hammer "nyondo". All manner of shapes were made: the only thing unknown was an object with a hole.

Iron working remained a jealously guarded art for those who had acquired it. It tended to become hereditary because once a father was a smith the son took after him. Smiths formed a wealthy class along with other skilled people, medicinemen, because of their skill and the scarcity of iron. The sources of iron ore were quite limited. The usual practice was to take a worn out iron object. It usually took a matter of weeks before an order could be delivered. Alternative sources of iron-ore and finished materials are in Kayonza. The journey to this area was hazardous. Smiths exchanged their products for stuffs, article of dress and domestic use. Because they accumulated those objects valued by society, they became rich.

(b) *FOOD PRODUCTION*: Millet was the chief food of the agricultural people providing food and drink. The raising of the crop was the chief annual activity. The fields were cleared April — June; sowing was done August — October, followed by the weeding to December. Harvesting began January — February. The harvested grain was husked, ground and prepared into a kind of bread or porridge. The other old food crops were sweet potatoes, yams, a number of legumes such as beans, and a variety of cultivated herbs. The relatively newer crops were bananas, maize and cassava. Millet has many legends around it. It is said to have been introduced from Karagwe.

Until recently bananas were raised only in inaccessible areas, far from the cattle. The clearing of the plantation, unlike the other crops, was the man's job. When the bananas matured, they would be put in a hole to ripen. They would be trampled on, in a wooden trough. Water and sorghum powder were added and the mixture left to ferment for a day or two. Then beer was ready for consumption.

Food production and preparation was primarily the work of the women the exception being the plantation. The man helped with the difficult jobs like clearing the field. Food was cooked in earthenware pots shaped from clay. Millet was served in baskets; vegetables and meat on clay dishes. The living area often served as the cooking place as well.

For Bahima milk and meat formed the main items of food, with dairy products like butter and blood. The food was supplemented by such food stuffs as millet, bananas and vegetables like "eshogyé". Banana beer and occasionally sorghum and a variety of beer millet were consumed by both groups, though produced by Bairu. The work of food production among Bahima revolved on cattle breeding. Looking after cattle was the man's job. Pasturing, watering, milking, dispensing medicines, mending fences and constructing new ones, were some of the varied chores in which the Bairu dependents helped. The woman looked after the milk. She churned it for butter, washed and perfumed the milk pots and containers. She wove the milk pot covers. The woman exchanged dairy products for Bairu products.

Besides the primary activities of food production, there were a number of secondary activities aimed at satisfying man's other needs. These include all forms of carpentry producing domestic utensils, the treatment of hides for clothing and there were those who produced armbands, and leg ornaments.

(c) *ECONOMIC INDICES*: The produce of society was distributed through barter. Given the modern use of money the barter method appears somewhat complicated. If allowance is made for the fact that each family produced its needs in food, and considering that geographical units were small, it can be realised that a person would always know what the producer needed. In addition, certain commodities functioned as media of exchange. The main ones were hoes, food-stuffs like millet, beer and more often domestic animals, goats, sheep and occasionally cattle. Smiths for instance exchanged their products for goats or sheep, skins or millet. Goats also were exchanged for such dearer products as salt.

Despite the absence of clearly defined media of exchange, the accumulation of certain commodities valued by society constituted wealth and consequently disparities occurred in society. Ultimately the possession of many wives, children and dependants were the outward manifestations.

Land was seldom an indicator of wealth because people held no claim to its ownership. It was owned by the Mukama and his subordinate chiefs.

The cultivators held land as tenants. The difference between the tenants was whether one could muster labour and tools to cultivate the land.

2. SOCIAL MECHANISMS

(a) *THE FAMILY*: The basic social unit for both Bairu and Bahima was the family (EKA) which consisted of the father, his wives, children and usually their wives and children. The married members of the family built their houses around the main house "nyaraju" the house of the family head. "NYINEKKE" (literally "I have a home") The family acted as a unit, ate and drank together, settling and resolving quarrels before they were known outside. Lineages tended to settle in the same locality. The family and the members of the same lineage shared in community activities like building houses, drinking beer, attending weddings, and lineage the religious activities.

An ideal site was one on the western side of a hill or on top if the hill was gentle. Availability of water was an advantage although a site too near water was not suitable as it brought mosquitoes and cold. The houses consisted of the bee-hive structure called "kifuuna" built with sticks, reeds and thatch. It had one entrance, occasionally a small opening at the back (Zuuri), but no ventilation. The house was supported by pillars, and walls divided the round structure into a number of partitions:- the main living room, a cooking place and a place for animals.

Building a house was always the joint effort of all the people in the neighbourhood. The person wishing to build first gathered materials - sticks, reeds and rope. He prepared or bought beer. In the morning the men put up the structure and cut grass, while the women cooked, fetched water and carried the grass. The process of building took one to three days. The whole was covered with grass on the outside; the inside was smeared with mud to about five feet in height.

The routine of building a house was like every aspect of life, hedged with numerous taboos. The couple was debarred from sexual contact with an outsider, while the work went on. If one did, he or she desecrated the house "kwita enju" and it was said the other partner would die. To understand the mechanism of society, it must be understood that life functioned in a limited geographical setting in which mobility was restricted and the forces of social change gradual. A man was in a village, grew there, married nearly and died there. The few extra-village activities such as raiding, going for salt or food during famine, were but a departure from the usual routine. Owing to the poor means of transport and the fact that the needs of livehoof were satisfied locally, mobility was limited. Given the economic set-up a man was born a cultivator and there were few chances of changing that occupation. The cycle of life remained about constant. One could live and die without witnessing any unusual changes except the normal ones of growth and death. Ideas and institutions hardly changed though life was not static.

(b) **PERPETUATION OF SOCIETY: MARRIAGE & ITS DESCRIPTION**

Marriage was by far the most important institution of society since it was by this means that it was created and perpetuated. There were variations in the practices among Bahima and Bairu and differences occurred from area to area. There were however, common underlying themes such as (i) the lineage bar on endogamy, (ii) the age, procedure, rituals of marriage and (iii) the laws governing married life.

Most clans barred marriage within the group which shared the same totem. This led them to seek brides from other clans, especially those from which they had already got wives. This practice held good among most groups except the Bashambo and associated groups (Banzira and Bahira) who did not have the bar and could marry within the same clan.

The practices of instituting marriage followed the following general pattern.⁹ Marriage was a family affair and never for an individual. The bride and bridegroom never met until they were married except when they lived near one another. When one family had chosen a suitable candidate, the family of the boy (here-after to be called "proposers") a spokesman was despatched to open negotiation with that family, hereafter called "respondents". When the offer was accepted, the father of the boy brought beer to make a formal declaration. Discussions were held on the amount of "bride gift" which varied according to the capability of the proposers, from five goats to ten cows among the pastoralists. During the famine it sank to two goats and a hoe, to a cow. The gift was taken to the respondents or collected from the proposers.

There followed a time of waiting lasting between a month and a year when the proposers took beer to visit the respondents to "kuhuta". When the period was over a date for wedding was fixed. A chain of rituals stretching over several days culminated in the departure of the bride. This is the period of "majuta" when the contracting parties observed taboos and abstained from sexual offence. The ceremonies began with proposers taking the bride a wedding garment. A return visit is made for the ritual shaving of the bridegroom, followed by another group of "BATEGUZI", whose job is to inspect the place before arrival of the bride. Lastly a party of the proposers ("Bakwe" literally sons-in-law) went to collect the bride. The climax of the rituals was the formal presentation of the bride to the father-in-law after which the bride would be taken out after protracted struggle between girls and their brothers. The bride and girls in accompaniment made valedictory incantations (Omutsiko, pl: Mitsiko). The bride would be accompanied to the groom's residence by a party of males and females led by an Aunt.

The bride carried in a litter reached the husband's place where a festive mood characterized by drinking, eating and dancing went on. The guests would be feted until morning when they left. The rituals at the home of the bride groom were numerous but the important ones consisted of the formal reception of the bride by the father-in-law. Then there was the symbolical consumation of marriage - "Kutobora" during which the groom after persis-

tent struggle touched the bride's genitals with his hand. Later there followed the actual consummation.

When ceremonies were over there followed a period of rest during which the bride did no laborious manual work; she stayed indoors, made baskets among Bairu, or milk-pot baskets among Bahima. At the end of the period a feast was held at the home of the father of the bride, attended by many people from both sides. The bride and bridegroom then made several journeys to and fro fulfilling the needs of tradition.

ANALYSIS OF MARRIAGE¹⁰

Seen from the background of society, marriage was its focal point and the greatest single factor making for its stability. The ceremonies, if critically examined, show this clearly. The kinship principle was the only thing that mattered; consequently outsiders were regarded as strangers and enemies. Exogamous marriages therefore acted as links, breaking down the barriers to contact and widening the scope of social intercourse. Marriage was often used by parents to cement relations with allied groups or even among formerly feuding groups. It was for this reason that marriage was never an individual but rather a community venture.

Those who could afford it favoured early marriages. They were aimed at preventing the boys from running around but essentially had the effect of tapping the potentialities of fertility. Numbers were very important to society which valued them for defence. A group which could put many fighters in the field potentially stood greater chances of winning.

The "Bride gift" which has mistakenly been called "dowry" or "Bride price" was another institutional device that made for stability in marriage.¹¹ The gift was the seal to a contract proposed by one group and accepted by the other. The deal was one of reciprocity. The proposers on one hand undertook to treat the daughter well while the daughter on behalf of the respondents undertook to keep the link between the two groups. The return of the gift symbolized the end of the contract.

Rituals and ceremonies brought many people together, and festive occasions had the effect of easing tensions and promoting understanding. They also had effect of inculcating in the minds of young people the importance and sanctity to society of the ceremony. In this way the two people individually and jointly were reminded that those present were witnesses to the contract.

The requirement of virginity in the woman, and ritual sexual abstinence for the man, emphasized the role of fidelity in married life. Virginity precluded past sexual contact with man which meant that the bride started her married life with a clear record that created respect. The fact that the wife belonged to the family was symbolized by the ceremony of "eating millet" when the bride with brothers-in-law partook of grains of sun dried millet. The device legalized sexual dealings between the participants and the bride, but excluded outsiders.

The mechanism of marriage procedures, and rituals were so complete because they aimed at building not just a lifetime relationship but foundation for society.

SOCIAL CONTROL

(i) Family Life & Education

In the family the father was the head and held supreme authority over everything in theory. However, in practice, this was not so because all the members, the mother, son, their wives, daughters all had rights and duties. Family education taught everyone what to do and what not to do.

The father was expected to provide shelter, clothing, tools for food production and in general to love, advise, punish his subjects as well as defend them from whatever danger there was including the dangers of strenuous work like cutting down the forest before cultivation. The family in return were expected to love and respect him. This respect was institutionalized in the custom of not mentioning his name. Children called him "Tata" father, the wife called him lord "Mukamawange" or the father of such a one. This respect was expected by all relatives older than oneself.

It was the duty of the mother with her daughters to look after the feeding of the family. They produced food, cooked it, and served it. The work of looking after the children and entertaining the visitors was hers. A man interesting himself in the management of food was resented. This clear division of roles was emphasized by the practice which forbade a man, woman or child from doing certain things or eating certain foods. The father for instance did not eat pumpkin seeds, certain internal organs of an animal, the lower jaw if his father was alive. The women and girls were forbidden to eat goat and mutton, grasshoppers, liver of a cow, they did not hold a spear or whistle, while children did not eat liver, or chest, taste uncooked salt at night, whistle at night or mention their elders' names.

It is today commonly believed by women that men forbade them from eating certain foodstuffs out of selfishness and greed. This however was not the case. These taboos were not only on food but on every aspect of life. They were the means of regulating behaviour in society. The taboos were the unwritten rules of education and the legal code enforceable by tradition. Each child growing up learnt these rules and taught them to his children or juniors. The home was in fact the first school.

A child was usually born to a married couple. No matter who was the physical father, the legal father was the woman's husband. All children born outside wedlock were illegal — "ebinyandaro". Society discouraged premarital sexual intercourse and pregnancies. Those involved were killed. A legally conceived woman was helped to deliver by an elder woman. A festive mood followed. The mother rested for a week or so before resuming manual work. Her mother brought gifts to the baby. The delivery of twins was considered very unfortunate. It was attended by numerous rituals of purification for all the inmates of the family and visitors.

Each child born received its own name depending on the whims of the parents, their relationship with their neighbours, the time, or the major event of the period. There was no systematic arrangement of names. A boy born during a locust invasion was called "Rwenzigye" after "nzigye" locusts; a girl born during a wedding ceremony become "Kobugyenye" after "Bugyenye" wedding feast.

Depending on the material possessions of the parents, child upbringing was always a difficult job. The child suckled for a year to two before depending entirely on solid food. The child got its education in the home. The boys later looked after sheep or cattle and as they grew up they understudied their fathers; girls helped the mother with the baby and with the general domestic chores before accompanying her to the field. It was in this way that the children learnt the skills of their fathers such as iron working, carpentry, pottery or medicine.

(ii) *The Religious Mechanism*

From the earliest stages a child learnt that certain things were good, and could be done, others were bad and were discouraged. Besides those actions within man's control there were others beyond his control — people could be cut off from life.

Man found there was a need to reconcile the needs of life to the complex world of natural and supernatural powers. The totality of man's attitudes, approach and dealings with this complex situation constituted the religious system of the people. Thus religion pervaded every aspect of society; the economic activities, the purely social, the political and even military were hedged with taboos or rituals of all kinds. Religion therefore was not simply the cult of "Emandwa" or "Bacwezi".¹² These were mere aspects of an all pervading system.

In view of the complexity of the system, to insulate what was and what was not religious in society is difficult. By abstraction man's activities, beliefs and rituals may be grouped in two broad classes:—

- (a) The social vehicles of control and
- (b) The religious practices proper.

What has been called social vehicles of control for lack of a better word were taboos, customs and traditions. These were the external manifestations of the unwritten law of morality as well as the cumulative prescriptions of society through the ages. The function of these was to regulate man's dealing with his neighbour. Such things as the clan totem, the practice which forbade a wife mentioning her mother-in-law's name, belong to this class.

There were however certain practices which dealt with man's relations with the supernatural powers. There was never a clear theology as to the identity of these powers. It was generally believed that a supreme being,

the maker of things existed. Names such as Kazooba, Rugaaba, Nyamuhanga (sun, Giver of all things, the creator) are names which express this vague knowledge. Honour was paid to the creator through the intercession of other powerful mediums such as ancestor spirits, "Mandwas" (spirits of famous beings). Sacrifices, rituals were offered or dedicated to these to seek their intercession or gain their pleasure. Besides these beings there was a clear belief in the existence of evil power. Charms for instance were supposed to cause illness; so did the activities of night dancers, "witches".

Practices geared to meeting these supernatural circumstances can be grouped into 3 classes:—

(A) *The Discovery of Divine Will*

In order to perform any activity it was always necessary to know the attitude, the will of the powers above. A man going on a journey, building a house, preparing to sow, wishing to marry his son or daughter or undertaking a project such as a raid or faced with a situation like an illness, consulted the divine will. Divine will was interpreted by the "Mufumu" a ritual expert, magician or a medicineman. He used charms or herbs; sometimes a person endowed with supernatural powers of vision and prophecy called "Omuhangu" was consulted, but such people were rare and the "Bafumu" were the usual dispensers of divine will. The skill was usually hereditary. Each "Mufumu" possessed a "shaho" literally a bag, containing collections of surative herbs and other charms used in the work.

The person wishing to know the divine will took a small fee to the mufumu. The mufumu used a device to know the will of the powers, the fate of the project or the chances of the patient overcoming the disease. The many devices included pieces of wood "Kikondo" seeds of pumpkin, the boiled leaves of certain plants, certain insects "Entondo" or the bowels of a chicken. Once the consultant had heard the detailed story of the customer, he manipulated the device and then gave an answer, and might also prescribe medicine. More often than not, he advised the customer to offer a sacrifice to appease a particular spirit or to comply with a certain requirement hitherto unfulfilled.

(B) *Rituals of Atonement*

The whole range of rituals both for atonement, supplication or initiation into the religious life of the community was called "Kubandwa". However a number of distinctions can be made thus: "kuterekyerera" was the offering of a sacrifice in supplication or appeasement. "Kusigura" was offering a sacrifice fulfilling a promise or expressing gratitude for a favour granted.¹³ It also meant a sacrifice to ancestral spirits asking for their protection. Both these rituals centred around the killing of the sacrificial animal "enjeru" usually a sheep or cow and offering beer near a sacred tree "Murinzi" literally custodian. The meat would be burnt by the head of the family who also prayed for the group or individual. Those present partook of the meat.

(C) *Kubandwa or Initiation*

The more elaborate ceremony of "Kubandwa" proper was the initiation of a person into the "pantheon" of the community. The ceremony was comparable to the Christian ritual of baptism in a number of ways. A person not yet initiated was regarded as a minor and could not take part in community affairs. Nevertheless the ceremony, like marriage, was very expensive since it involved much feasting. It was possible for some one to grow old without performing the ritual.

What the "pantheon" consisted of was not clear. The beings in this collection included:—

The Vague supreme being called Kazoba, Rugaaba or Nyamuhanga. Then there were "Mandwa", the spirits of famous personalities. Bacwezi such as Mugasha, Ndahura, Muhima were among the mandwa worshipped. Nyabingi for instance was thought to have been the spirit of a famous woman.¹⁴ The ancestors often fell into the above category and were worshipped as "mandwa". This explains the existence of family "mandwa". There were also "muzimu", spirits of people other than one's relatives. Initiation was not a clear exercise but rather an attempt to get into communication with whatever power there was.

The Ceremony

There were area variations but in the main, the ceremony was conducted thus:— only initiates took part and they had an "initiation jargon". The person being initiated was "nyabwerere" the baby. The top of the hill was "Katungutungu". The "kiko" tree near which the offerings were made was called "murinzi" the custodian.

On the day preceeding the appointed day, the initiated relatives or "Mandwa" began to arrive. On the day itself the neighbours gathered in full force. Only the initiates could attend and they were conjured under pain of death never to disclose what took place.

The "baby" was given an instructor of the same sex called "Kyatura". The ceremonies either lasted one night or a night and day. In the evening when all the initiates had gathered, they trooped to the top of a hill "katungutungu" near a "kiko" tree — the "murinzi", and these performed the ritual which consisted of three parts:—

(1) The "baby" was stripped naked, was poked fun at, laughed at and threatened with all manner of bodily harm including slaughter. It was given impossible tasks to perform such as uprooting the "murinzi" tree with teeth, or removing a piece of grass from a small hole with teeth. The baby was accused of impossible crimes of theft and moral depravity. All this was too much for the baby and it wept.

(2) The second part consisted of swallowing of the "covenant" "eibanga". This was a small stone which "kyatura" ordered the baby to

swallow and was conjured under pain of death never to say it was a stone but a "covenant" which must never be disclosed.

(3) The third part consisted of singing "kushondera", cheering, and praying for the baby. It pretended to be dead and the gathering led by "kyatura" prayed to the pantheon to bring the baby to life. When the "baby" stirred, they cheered and trooped back home to continue drinking eating and dancing. If a day ceremony was held, it followed the procedure of the previous night and ended at home feasting.

The ceremony of initiation was a ritual of unlimited importance for the community in many ways:—

(a) As a religious ceremony it cemented belief in the mighty forces above. In this way the work of reconciling life's needs to the supernatural powers became easier. They sought help and guidance for those things they could not do themselves. Even if these were not given immediately, at least psychologically the mind was relieved. This is the reason why Karl Marx called religion, "The opium of the people."¹⁵

Kubandwa was a vehicle of social cohesion and intercourse. The coming together of people of the same lineage helped to keep together the social fabric of society. It was not only the relatives who turned up but even the neighbours. These gatherings helped to keep the different lineages on good terms.

The ceremony marked the coming of age of the initiate, who was hence to become a responsible and mature citizen of the community. The core of the ceremony was the swallowing of the "covenant" or the big secret. This was an injunction to the mature citizen to keep secrets in the interests of the family and the community. It inculcated the need for complete trust-worthiness among people.

(iii) Resolution of Conflicts:

(a) Political & Social Mechanisms

If social mechanisms and religious rituals had the function of regulating and cementing good relations in society there existed institutions for settling conflicts when these occurred.

Differences occurred over the whole range of society, in the family, between families, clans, and between Bairu and Bahima as well as between states. Quarrels in the family among the children themselves or with their parents or between husband and wife were settled within the family or lineage by the elders. In the case between children or parents and children, the offending children would be fined beer or beer and a goat. A case of married couple was settled by elders at the home of the wife's parents.

An interlineage conflict was more difficult to settle. It might be handled by a committee of elders from both sides but more often than not it was

referred to the political authority. Such might be a serious case involving theft or physical violence. The area ruler or the chief ruler would judge the case and fine the offending party. Murder usually incurred capital punishment inflicted by the clansmen of the deceased at the instruction of the ruler.

After murder, it was sometimes possible to avoid vengeance by having a ritual of reconciliation called "Kukaraba". A white sheep "Enjeru" was killed and people of the two lineages touched its hair and partook of the meat. Some compensation would be paid to the bereaved party in animals such as cattle, goats or sheep, or a girl would be given. In most cases, this ceremony acted as a mere truce so that when the bereaved party had a chance it avenged itself thus perpetuating the feud.

There was also blood brotherhood. The ceremony occurred between males of different clans or lineages. An incision was made on the stomach of the intending brothers and blood put on a seed (usually coffee berry or another) which was swallowed by the other person. Friends pledged themselves to help each other at all times and never on pain of death, to deny each other anything, especially food. It was believed that if a friend denied the other food, the former would die instantly. Blood brotherhood was a very effective method of keeping good relations among groups because they were regarded as kinship bonds.

(b) *Failure to resolve Conflicts-Warfare.*

If a quarrel broke out between states the usual means of settling it was by fighting. This took the form of a raid - a limited and quick action into an area, or a full scale battle, or if it lasted longer it became a war.

In traditional warfare, weapons were conventional enough. The spear was for stabbing; the bow and arrow for shooting, and the shield for protection. While the spear man could hold his own shield, the Bowman needed a second person to hold the shield and move it in such a way as to protect himself and the Bowman while at the same time moving it to permit a good aim at the enemy.¹⁶

Although there were no standing armies to the same extent as today, each man of importance maintained a bodyguard which formed the nucleus of an army which would be hurriedly mobilised for a war or raid. In time of emergency all able-bodied males were liable for military call up. The members of the bodyguard stayed at the ruler's court where they practiced shooting and spear throwing. War had many risks but promised rewards in the form of booty. The highest quality in a warrior or leader was his capacity to charge the enemy and kill as many as possible. Such a brave man earned the praise of his fellow warrior and rewards from the ruler.

Religion played an important role in war. Before an encounter, medicine men consulted the gods. If all was well, medicines were dispensed to fortify

the warriors against the enemy's spears and ensure victory. If the verdict was negative the action might be postponed to avoid disaster.¹⁷

The choice of an area was based on a well calculated assessment of the enemy's strength in terms of the men likely to be put into the field. Spies despatched before the event brought the information on their own or from collaborators who betrayed their states for a reward.

RELATIONS BETWEEN BAIRU AND BAHIMA

The functions of the Political system.

Bairu and Bahima though inhabiting the same geographical area and speaking the same language, were nevertheless different in physical appearance and in occupation. The Bahima were tall and slender (the men) but women were usually fat; they had long noses and thin lips. The Bairu as a whole were shorter, much stouter, flat nosed, their lips were thicker and their hair wispy or curled.

Their occupations were generally separate, but there were many channels of contact. In the first place some Bairu lived at the homes of Bahima and helped in the performance of domestic chores. Daily the Bairu women brought food products, millet, bananas vegetables especially "shogye" to exchange for dairy products like butter, milk, meat and sometimes hides.

But the most frequent meeting points were the pot of beer and the court, i.e. the house of the Bahima chiefs, because they controlled the political system. The administration of the different areas of Rujumbura if one can call it that name, was manned by the relatives of the principal Mushambo ruler or Mukama. The administrative personnel, though appointive, were strictly hereditary. Children succeeded fathers and held power during good behavior. It was only when they rebelled that force might be used to drive them out.

The work of the area chiefs was to maintain order, judge cases and in time of emergency raise troops. The area in turn was to provide the ruler with the means of livelihood. In practice the function of the administrative structure was to provide the ruling class with the means of enjoying a high standard of living without participating in the manual labour of economic production. This was achieved by means of subtle devices, economic, social and military.

Land in theory belonged to the Mukama who allowed people to use it as tenants in return for goods and services. The goods and services were collected by the subordinate area chiefs. This system of land tenure gave rise to a system called "Kutoija", a word not adequately rendered by the English "Tribute" but which has its general coercive overtones. There were two general categories:

- (i) It referred to the compulsory payments of a conquered ruler to the conqueror.

(ii) The goods from subject to ruler, demanded of right.

Agriculturalists provided a portion of their produce in millet and beer to the ruler. On each settlement area an elder called "Mukungu" was in charge of collecting and delivering the goods to the ruler. When services were required, able-bodied men were levied to do the work.

The non Bashambo pastoralists did not pay "Mutoijo" though on numerous occasions such as the marriage of the ruler's child or relative cattle donations were required. Though force was always not used in collecting dues, it was always known to exist and default presupposed severe sanctions, eviction and confiscation.

Alongside the "kutoija" and sometimes superimposed on it was the system of "buhake", a kind of clientage system but never as elaborate as that of Rwanda.¹⁸ In the Rwanda system, each cultivator had a Tutsi lord as protector and the protector another, up to the top where there was the MWAMI (king). The local system was similar. People living in an area entered into a relationship with the ruler to cultivate or pasture undisturbed and in return provided goods such as food, beer, milk and services.

Better relationships on the part of the subordinates were cultivated by means of a practice called "kutabaara". The client took gifts of food especially beer. He had the object of courting the ruler's good will as well as trying to seek a favour more especially a cow, bull or a goat. Gifts flowed until the favour was granted, and continued after. Normally the "cow given" "empano" demanded a return at some future date. This was usually the case among Bahima themselves and less with Bairu who were often given sterile cows or bulls.

During a war or raiding party all the able-bodied people took up arms. The Bahima who were fewer always contributed a small fraction of the warriors. Yet they always took proportionately larger share of the booty as well as the credit for success.

Bairu and Bahima met daily at various places such as the home of the Mukama or at that of another ruler, or the home of a "mwiru" for beer or during a wedding or in a raid or war. Their relations were governed by a code of socially accepted patterns. These were the patterns of superiority and inferiority in a two tier system. The two tier system resembled what in other areas is called a caste society, that is "one, composed of several graded groups each of which is endogamous and practicing a hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth."¹⁹

Bahima or Bairu membership was strictly conferred by birth. Though marriage between the two groups was not forbidden it was not usually favoured. A Mwiru who had some cattle found the "bride gift" very high. A Muhima had no wish to marry a Mwiru who could not be acquainted with cattle culture. A few Bairu married among Bahima but they identified with the latter group. It was rare for a Muhima to be so impoverished as to

become a Mwiru. When he lost his cattle, group interest usually forced his fellow Bahima to give him cattle. In this way the occupational patterns persisted.

The differences between the two groups were accentuated by the fact that certain physical features referred to above were characteristic of each group. These physical differences came to be associated with qualities of beauty, hence among the Bairu a handsome man or beautiful woman was a Muhima or Muhimakazi (female). It therefore came to be accepted that to be a Mwiru was to be ugly. The Mwiru was always "ekyata kyomwiru" (foolish Mwiru). "Muntu" (person) meant only Muhima.

A few illustrations will show how the superiority-inferiority attitudes operated.

- (a) In the realm of economic exchange the venue was the Muhima's place and never the Mwiru's. Even here the economic balance favoured the latter, since his goods were more sought after.
- (b) The Bairu worked for Bahima for cattle products, and never the other way round.
- (c) The Bahima exercised political control and secured goods and services from Bairu in form of "kutoija" and "Kutabara". The traffic was one way only. If any favour was given it was in form of bulls or sterile cattle. A Mwiru was not worthy of a productive cow.

The demand for goods and services was occasionally stretched to ridiculous proportions. When an inferior had prepared beer or had a healthy goat or an attractive wife, an excuse was found to visit the owner. Beer was forcibly consumed and the animal slaughtered after which one of the visitors might retire to bed with the man's wife. Occasionally some Bahima who wished to eat, carried a ruler's child and demanded for this minor, services rendered to the elders. In theory such privileges belonged to the Bashambo but in practice they were also enjoyed by non-Bashambo Bahima and also by the Bairu favourites in attendance.

The Origins of Inequality and its Implications

The origins of the system of social inequality as well as the political imbalance must have had their roots in economics, and cattle caused it. The sense of inequality was something that developed gradually from social contacts. It was promoted by the distribution of goods highly prized in society. The distribution differences were themselves the result of an earlier acquaintance with cattle by one group. The prestige that goes with property easily spread to the physical features which were then held to be proof of superior qualities of anatomy. With the use of hindsight the theory and practice of inequality one sees as a clever manipulation of a ruling class to perpetuate their hold on political power.

A pertinent question is how the Bairu reacted to the situation. Of course, the Bairu were not equally hit by this oppression: those who lived far from the cattle areas on one hand and those who won the favour of the rulers on the other did not experience it. For the rest, reactions were varied. In practice people were free to change masters if their present ones wronged them and many did leave to join the service of other lords, or even migrated. But leaving one's area meant sacrificing one's relatives and familiar environment to endure the difficulties of starting a new home under unfamiliar conditions.

Sheer inertia on one hand, and fear of the unknown produced the spirit of submission which became characteristic of the political system.

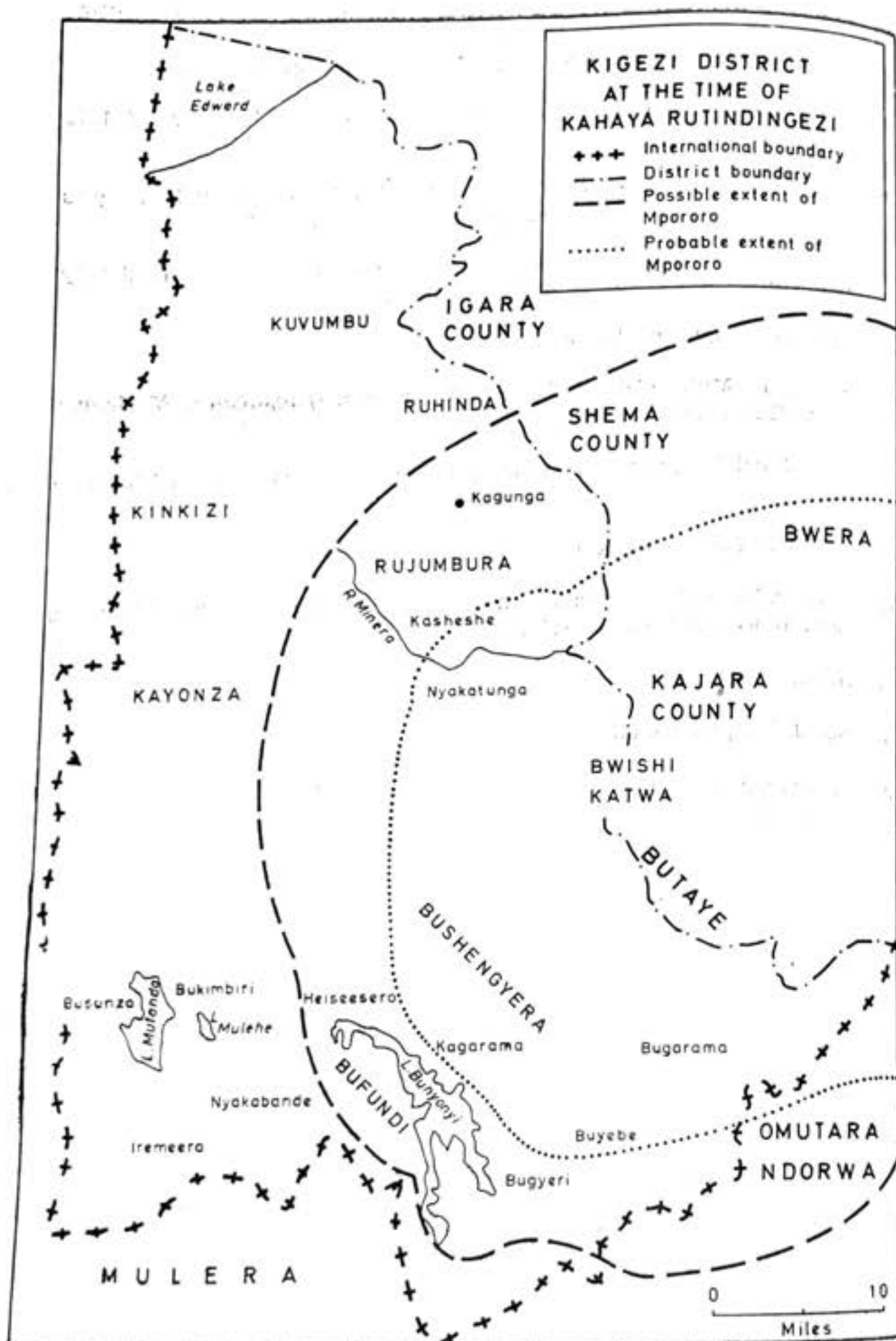
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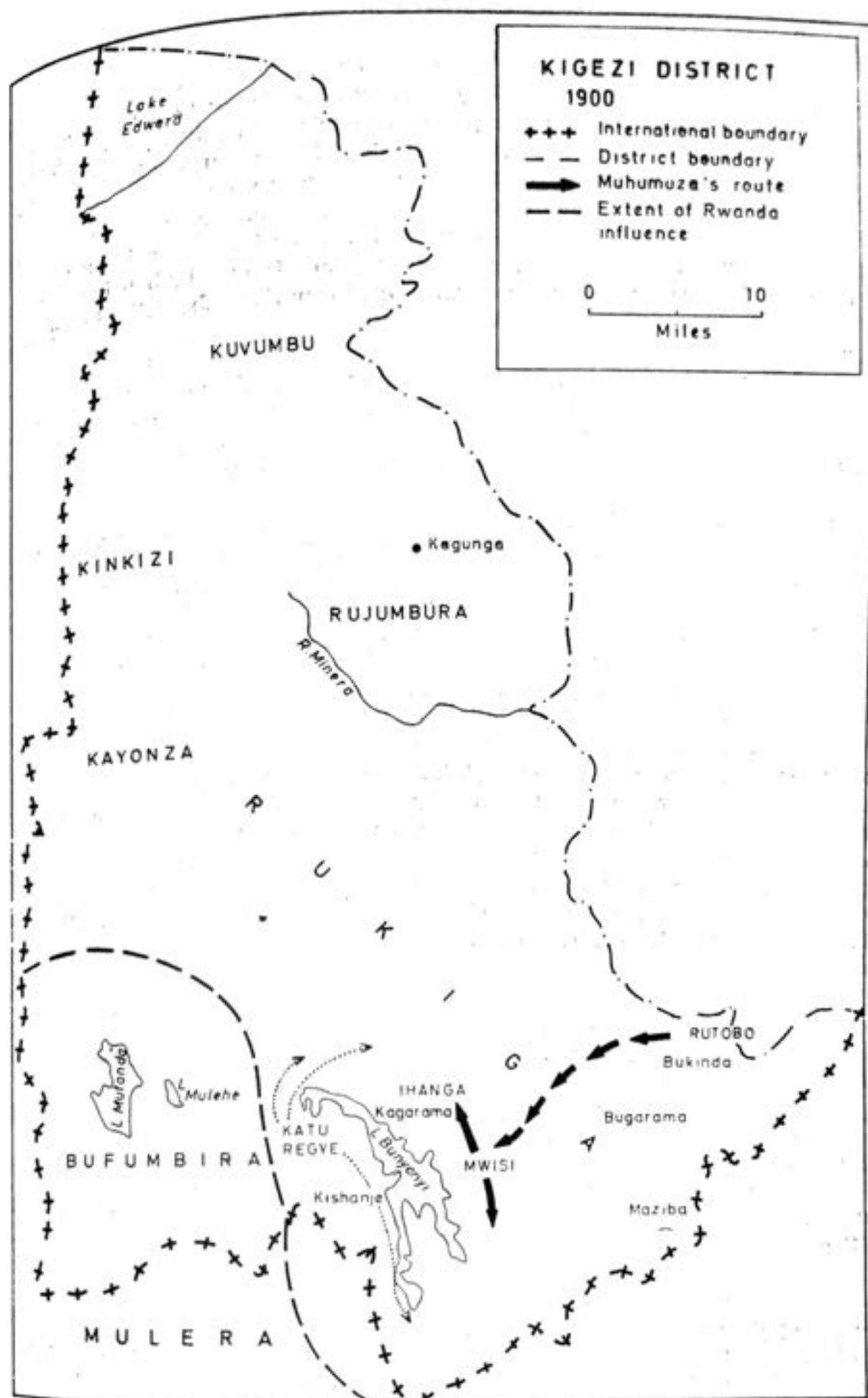
1. This essay is part of Kigezi History Project, generously sponsored and financed by The National Trust. Material included, is based on the research work done for the Nairobi University College History Project. The original text appears in *Ngano*.

It also includes the results of the field work 1968-69 financed by the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa. Finally has been included material collected April-May 1970 under the sponsorship of The National Trust. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Saza Chief Rujumbura Mr. Kangye, his Chiefs, the many informants for the patience and help given at every stage of the research.

2. *Ngano* is a book produced by the former Nairobi University College's History Department, published by the East African Publishing House 1969. It consists of eight essays by then undergraduate students including that of the author on Rujumbura.
3. This scheme is based on that of Katate and Kamungumu appearing in the *Abagabe b'Ankole* p. 43-45 East African Literature Bureau 1967. I have modified the headings using Bazigaba where they use Bagahe, and Baitira for Bahinda. These are larger groups in Rujumbura.
4. Monthly Report August 1900, for Ankole District: Mbarara Archives.
5. C. Nkabirira, *Iterero Kajara* 1969. Oral communication. Mubangirizi: *Ebihimbo*: Marianum Press Kisubi p.10 1965 Edition.
6. See S. R. Baitwababo-"Mpororo Traditions of Chieftainship"-University of East Africa Social Sciences 1968-69.
S. R. Baitwababo: "Origins and Disintegration of the Kingdom of Mpororo". Makerere University History Dept. Aug. 69 Seminar Paper.
E. R. Kamuhangire and A. Munyuzangabo, *Studies in South West Ankole*, Makerere History Papers, No. 6.

7. The proverb in vernacular says: "Oine ebye, nuwe ayetwa Mukamaitu".
8. Sutton: The settlement of East Africa, in *Zamani* EAPH 1968.
9. Bahima used no meat according to Kakondo Nyakaina. August 1970
Oral information.
10. I am grateful for the analytical tools used in the essay to Jacques
Maquet: *The Premise of Inequality*, Oxford Press 1961.
11. "Njugano" is not "dowry" being produced by one side. It is strictly
not a price but a gift or a kind of compensation.
12. See A. Munyuzangabo op. cit.
13. See B. K. Mubangizi: *Emicwe — Yensi omu Banyankore*. Marianum
Press Kisubi 1963 p. 33-44.
14. R. R. Nicolet. Unpublished documents held at Mushanga Parish Anko-
le.
15. See *Das Kapital* and *Communist Manifesto*.
16. S. R. Baitwababo... "Guns & Warfare in S.W. Uganda" Social Sciences
Conference. 1969-70 Nairobi.
17. *Idem*.
18. See J. Maquet op. cit.
19. J. Maquet op. cit.





We now turn our attention to political history in each region of Kigezi except Bufumbira (which was briefly considered in chapter two). Appropriately, we begin with the largest pre-colonial state in Kigezi, Rujumbura, whose history is outlined by Mr. Baitwababo. The conquest of Rujumbura by the Beene Kirenzi branch of the Bashambo, was probably accomplished by about 1800, when earlier pastoral rulers were either subordinated or expelled. From then onwards Rujumbura grew from its core in the south of the present county, incorporating or exacting tribute from neighbouring states. By the end of the century Rujumbura was able to survive substantial invasions from both Nkore and Rwanda, and managed to secure a colonial status which was distinct from the colonial kingdom of Ankole, which absorbed most of the other Mpororo successors states. Mr. Baitwababo next turns his attention to the history of one of Rujumbura's tiny neighbours, the kingdom of Kuvumbu, which was probably characteristic of many of these small polities, and which was ultimately absorbed into Rujumbura.

Of these neighbouring states, the kingdom of Kayonza was probably the most important, having considerable resources of iron ore, technology, and a larger population than the other states in the neighbourhood. These resources made Kayonza the object of unwelcome attention from Rujumbura and from Kinyarwanda-speaking chiefs in Bufumbira, who frequently intervened in succession disputes. Mr. Rwankwenda, who wrote the chapter, is the son of the last hereditary ruler, was himself a colonial chief, and (see Appendices) continues to hold influence in the region. He is anxious to demonstrate the age and continuity of his dynasty, and it seems likely that some exaggeration may have crept in. Though the kings may well have existed, it seems probable that there was a change of dynasty with the accession of Rutairuka, the great-grandfather of the author, in the mid-nineteenth century when a number of groups migrated northwards to escape the expanding kingdom of Rwanda. Secondly, it should be noted that there is no means of confirming the description of the rituals of kingship, though it is likely that the description is fairly accurate, and derived from eyewitnesses.

In chapter seven, Mr. Rwabihigi has used oral sources (documented in the Makerere History Department) to assemble a biography of Katuregye, the only Mukiga to achieve anything like a monarchical degree of political power. His career was interrupted by the arrival of the British, and it is difficult therefore to assess either his motives or the degree to which he had attained them. Rwabihigi is inclined to interpret Katuregye's career in terms of centralising political power on the model of other lacustrine states, and emphasises the conflict between Katuregye and colonial authorities.

In chapter eight, Mr. Karwemera has assembled in chronological order some of the more dramatic episodes of Kigezi pre-colonial history, an approach which tends to give an unduly lurid impression of the history of the people, but which is otherwise accurate. This chapter confirms the impres-

sion of earlier chapters, that the people at first regarded the incoming Europeans as simply another in a series of misfortunes, rather than a new phenomenon.

Finally, since there was clearly a very close connection between religion and politics, it seems appropriate here to include a disquisition by Father Geraud on the nature of pre-Christian religious beliefs. The chapter is written by a committed Christian, but is nonetheless sympathetic and perceptive.

Editor.

CHAPTER FOUR.

Bashambo Rule in Rujumbura.

by S. R. Baitwababo.

PRE-BASHAMBO TIMES

To date little is known about Rujumbura's early history. The oral sources which do not go far show the Baishekatwa and Banyabusano as the earliest ruling groups, which had possibly established power in a manner similar to that discussed in the foregoing pages. It is said unanimously that they found some agricultural groups such as the Baitira of Mariba and Bakooko of Rushasha living in the place. A reconstruction of the early history might run thus:-

(i) Food gatherers once living in the place may have retreated south west in the wake of the advancing agriculturalists from the east.

(ii) Agricultural groups small in numbers moved gradually into the area followed by pastoralist groups. Other agriculturalists also came in and gradually population grew. Gradually the pastoralists established their rule in the area. One source suggested that the antecedents of the Baishikatwa were a people called Beene Muhondoogwa.¹ It is known that Kitami the Mwishikatwa Queen who was ruling Mpororo at the end of the 16th century, was the daughter of one Nyahwera, a Mwishikatwa of Beene Muhondoogwa section, then ruling Rujumbura.² If these two pieces correlated, conclusion can be made that the Beene Muhondoogwa and the Baishikatwa belonged to the same clan. When one section assumed power further east, the remaining section retained control in Rujumbura.

Information regarding their organization and political system is scarce. What can be learned suggests that they had a principal chief who led them in time of war and settled their disputes. The Baishekatwa were spread over the grazing lands of south central Rujumbura on whose fringes lived the agriculturalists. To the East lived the Banyabusano whose social and political organization were similar to those of Baishiketwa. The immediate origins of these pastoralists was most likely the east.

According to local sources, not yet corroborated by any other part of Mpororo, the Baishekatwa had married Kamurari's daughter, Butonya.³ That she was a historical figure is suggested by the wealth of traditions about her, the existence of watering wells bearing her name, and the popular saying that "Rujumbura was Butonya's land".⁴ Before her father's death she asked and was given that area as her patrimony. On arrival she first lived at Mugamba, and the descendants of one of the Bairu who accompanied her still live in the area. These are the Bajumura (Bazigaba of Mugamba and Rukondo).

The absence of many traditions on the Mpororo kings and the activities would suggest that the latter's hold in this part was nominal. This is suggested by the fact that when Kahaya's descendants came to claim what they believed to be their patrimony, they were met with stern resistance. The Baishekatwa had entrenched themselves and were not prepared to lose their independence.

BASHAMBO ORIGINS

The problem of the ultimate origins of the Bashambo is one beyond the scope of this work. It belongs to a wider work covering Mpororo and perhaps the whole of south west Uganda. The Bashambo belonged to one large family from which all the ruling clans of Mpororo were descended. They in turn formed part of a larger family of pastoralists who ruled the areas between Lake Albert, Victoria, Tanganyika and Kivu.

Before entering Rujumbura towards the end of the 18th century their ancestors had ruled the kingdom of Mpororo for about a century. The two known rulers were Kamurari and Kahaya Rutindangyezi. The kingdom is thought to have covered most of Rujumbura, modern Kajara, parts of modern Rwampara, parts of Bakiga country and parts of northern Rwanda. Rujumbura was given to one of the sons, Kerenzi, as his share before his father's death.

The actual causes of Mpororo's disintegration are still in dispute. The immediate causes seem have been the disappearance of drum "Murorwa" without which none of Kahaya's son could be accepted as king. Related to this was Kahaya's personality. He seems to have been hot tempered and erratic. He was fond of travelling especially to the higher area near Lake Bunyonyi and yet expected his sons to keep him supplied with whatever he needed. When this became impossible, he cursed the sons as insubordinate and disposed of the drum Murorwa. There seem to have been underlying causes connected with the difficulties of controlling widely scattered areas in the absence of good communications and an effective administrative structure.

Bashambo came to Rujumbura to assume their patrimony. Uncorroborated sources suggest that Kahaya in his lifetime with his son had even fought rebels there.⁵ It is however, unknown whether Kirenzi ever visited the area after his father's death. The place connected with his name lies to the East of the area. It is called Rwakirenzi (literally the place of Kirenzi). The one known to have led the Bashambo migration was Kirenzi's son Rwebiraro, who founded his settlement at Nyakayaga near Nyakinengo.

Rwebiraro, like other pastoralists on the move, came with his herds of cattle, his wives, children, dependants and their movable property. Such movement was slow, spreading over many weeks. A number of factors influenced their choice. Their route must have been across the ford at Minera into the wide pasture of south Rujumbura. There were hot spring at Minera and Rubatu, a few hours walk. Mineral water possesses certain medicinal

properties and is believed to make cattle thrive and multiply. Security must have been a foremost consideration. The place of the settlement was high up on a mountainous ridge commanding a good view of the country so that enemies from both the north and south could be seen from far. The choice of this site implies that the needs of security were paramount, the more suitable areas in the north and east being occupied by the more numerous Baishikatwa and Banyabusano. Last but not least, a relative, Butonya had lived in the area.

What were the attitude of the other groups in the neighbourhood? There was little or no hostility at first. The Bairu groups took the opportunity to open contacts, which have lasted to the present involving the Basingo of Nyakinengo and Basyaba of Rugando. Resentment developed slowly and rivalry occurred as the Bashambo and their cattle increased.

Dawn of Group Conflicts

Conflicts did develop between Bashambo and Baishikatwa and later with Banyabusano. The causes were the usual ones between pastoralists namely cattle, and pastures. The mineral water areas are believed to have provided the biggest bone of contention. But beneath this was the more fundamental case of power politics, namely who should control the areas. The "Casus belli" was found in the activities of a Mushambo Nyakasiisi (literally wrong doer) who disturbed the Baishekatwa as they watered their cattle. He soiled their water. His followers were attacked and some killed. He, however, managed to escape to sound the alarm for war.

As the two groups had been secretly preparing for war, the opening of hostilities surprised no one. The differences had for some time been shown in clashes at watering places or in pastures when the herdsmen exchanged heated words and occasionally blows. The war was most irregular. There were at first no organised battles except small encounters, but each encounter deepened the feud as one or the other group lost a member. In the course of these intermittent forays the Baishekatwa kraals were burnt at Kasheshe, Nyarutoma, Rukungiri, Rushasha and Karangaro. Cattle and women were captured as the men were driven off. Kanyamuheebe, Rwebiraro's eldest son, led the Bashambo, and Mugasha the Baishekatwa. The Bairu fought on both sides.

What started as mere group quarrels ended in defeat for Baishekatwa with far-reaching political and social consequences. Most Baishikatwa rather than face submission left the area and dispersed into the neighbouring states of Igara, Butumbi, Nkore and far-off Toro. A few survivors submitted. Bashambo now expanded to the areas formerly held by their rivals. It was this phase of population movement that brought Nyinamanyonyi, one of Rwebiraro's sons, to Kagunga, north of the original settlement. This site is marked by the oak tree of Kagunga which later became a celebrated ancestral shrine. In the political realm, the Bashambo now controlled both the Baishikatwa and their former Bahima allies as well as the Bairu groups all around. This in effect was the beginning of their rule in Rujumbura.

Bashambo in Control: The Rise of Muhozi.

Each of Rwebiraro's many sons — Kyanyamuhehe, Nyinamanyonyi, Mbuzi, Rujojo, Nyarukanu — settled in a particular area. The eldest, Kyanyamuhehe remained in Nyakinengo while the others spread out; Nyinamanyonyi northwards, Mbuzi due east. In the respective areas, each head of the group become the ruler of the area receiving the "mitoiho" from all groups. Naturally they quarrelled among themselves and with other groups. It is clear that there was a power-vacuum with none of the group able to exercise supreme control. Such a situation easily played into the hands of a foreigner desirous of making a fortune. The state of political instability was not peculiar to Rujumbura but was a common feature in all the areas formerly included in the kingdom of Mpororo. Rwanda, the small but aggressive neighbour to the south east, was quick to grasp the opportunities and regularly sent raiding parties. To off-set the disadvantages of raids and to gain favours at court the individual Bashambo sent Mitoiho to Rwanda. One of those who went on such an errand and never returned was Ruhengye, Nyinamanyonyi's eldest son, who had married Kaharagi of the Bagahe clan, who was left pregnant. Her father in law married her when the son failed to return. The issue was Muhozi who has consequently been mistakenly called Nyinamanyonyi's son.

It is said when Ruhengye heard of the birth, he sent word that the boy be called Muhozi, literally the avenger who would be the family's champion against rivals. The boy was nurtured in a warlike spirit, more because of inter lineage rivalry than the supposed origin of the name. He consequently began the fighting career at an early age. Nyinamanyonyi's other sons were Kigoye, Rwakicunganwa, Rusikasike and Kabazi. They shared a similar upbringing.

While still a boy, Muhozi collected a band of followers he called "Entembanzi", literally those who fight at close quarters. The idea of a personal body guard was not new as any important man had a body of followers. The leisurely life at the home of rich pastoralists allowed plenty of time for exercise at such games as spear throwing and arrow shooting.

Another trait in Muhozi's character inclined him to a warlike disposition. That was a passionate cattle complex. In general all Bahima love cattle but some develop such passionate excesses as raids and other means of increasing their stock. Muhozi wished to possess any beautiful cow wherever it might be. He used persuasion or force to acquire it. He went to such great lengths disguising himself as a shepherd and travelling long distances to seek information, after which he set the Entembani on war path.

Muhozi became the most distinguished among the Bashambo rulers of Rujumbura and his achievements were considerable. He was an accomplished warrior and organizer, a passionate lover of cattle who brought successes and cattle to his countrymen. He earned the title of "Rwitamanga", conqueror of nations. A magnanimous ruler, he gave wealth to his subjects. That after all was the ideal quality in a ruler. The country

however lost many people, during his many campaigns; and for that reason he also earned the nickname of 'Mubura' i.e. he who deprives.

Such was the background of the man who led his lineage, the Kagunga group of Bashambo, to ultimate supremacy in the area. The attainment of supremacy was one of the themes which marked the political history of the area in the 19th century. The earliest was that of political instability when a number of groups inhabited the same area but none could control the others. The second theme was that of group conflict such as those between Baishikakwa and Bashambo and later with Banyabusano. The third theme was that of internal power struggle between the different Bashambo groups out of which emerged the Kagunga who arrogated to themselves the title of Beene Kirenzi. Division within the same family was the product of polygamy. Children of the same mother used to consider themselves as a unit, and rivalries developed between these units, sometimes proving fatal. Three distinct Bashambo groups developed:

- (i) Beene Kanyamuheebe were the descendants of Kanyamuheebe. They occupied southern areas and even flowed to the adjacent areas of Kayungwe and far-off Kambuga. They were wealthy in cattle and great in numbers. Mukindo, Kacuzu, and Rwigabiro were some of the prominent leaders.
- (ii) Beene Nyinaamanyonyi arrogated the name of Beene Kirenzi. Muhozi became the leader.
- (iii) Beene Mbuzi were descendants of Mbuzi son of Muterere brother of Nyinaamanyonyi. They lived due east of Nyakinengo.

As the above three groups occupied different areas, differences soon arose; which developed into feuds until they burst open. The first two groups to clash were Beene Kanyamuheebe and Beene Kirenzi. Cattle pastures and personal boasts entered into it. The latter was despised by the former. They had fewer cattle and numbers. The disappearance of Ruhengye was a further cause of opprobrium.

Clashes as usual began at wells and in pastures. A feud brought the final clash. One member of Beene Kirenzi called Kiromba was killed by the Beene Kanyamuheebe while trying to help himself to their cattle. A reconciliation ceremony was performed and compensation paid in cattle, but the feud persisted. The bereaved then killed a boy from the other section; and fighting broke out.⁶

Muhozi suffered serious defeats at the outset from Kacuzu and then from the elder brother Mukindo. In both encounters he lost a number of his Entembani. A reversal of fortune came during two serious encounters at Rwenshekye, (later renamed, Irwaniro, fighting place) where the Kagunga group broke into the ranks of their opponents, forcing them to flee. They made a stand at Kishanda a few miles off but there the rout was finished and the leader Mukindo killed. His followers lost morale and fled. The fugitives crossed river Biraara and fled into Kayungwe and Kambuga, followed by Muhozi who defeated them there.

Kambuga lies south of the river separating Rujumbura from the modern county of Kinkizi. It was a good grazing area which attracted Muhozi. From here he made contacts with neighbouring states with a view to securing tribute. North, south and west of Kambuga lay a number of kingdoms such as Kinkizi, Kayonza, Kikombe and Kuvumbu near Lake Edward. They were ruled by kings who claimed origin from Rwanda and had drums and other items of regalia typical of the interlacustrine area, but the majority owed their power to their ability to control rain.

Muhozi was the first Rujumbura ruler to interest himself in the affairs of Butumbi. It was an area rich in goats and cattle, yet politically weak. He attempted with little success to control and exact tribute from the richest of them — Kayonza. With the rest he was successful. There were two motives for this. One was the desire for booty. The other was that he was dragged into the politics of the place by one of the two princes contesting the throne of that country.⁷ One of these Rutareka, sought his help to capture power from Rutairuka, Murera. Murera was tricked into visiting Muhozi's court where he was arrested and detained. He managed to escape while the guards were drunk, but dared not return to Kayonza. Instead he took refuge in Bufumbira for a time. Rutareka was maintained on the throne by Muhozi's forces but later died in battle fighting against pro-Murera forces led by his brother Rubango.

The Strategy of Expansion

Programmes of expansion usually develop out of circumstances rather than from a blueprint. In Muhozi's case, expansion grew out of an attempt to overcome opponents, but finding opportunities of wealth and power he set out to exploit them to the full. In the words of an informant, he sought cattle to increase his herds, and independent rulers to subdue.⁸

He relied on the Entembani who formed the core of an army made up of all able-bodied men hurriedly mobilized. His many expeditions cost the country many people. The names of the most remembered warriors are:-

Kirinda Kya Mukakiziga Muhakirwa Shamba.
Rwamaganwa rwa Kanungu Rutobera.
Rutacuragana.
Kaseta Ruhamba.
Rwanshatuki.
Ruzigwa.
Kashaija (Rwibabiro).
Rwabunyonyozi rwa Kambarira.
Rwanyakahenda rwa Kanama.

These warriors came from all social backgrounds being both Bairu and Bahima. Kirinda was Muhozi's maternal uncle while Kashaija (Rwibabiro) son of Rukikaire was a Mwitira (Mukora) courtier from Kambuga.

Generosity or the skilful manipulation of patronage was responsible for attracting people to his fighting group. Both from his own herds as well

as those captured in other areas, cattle presents, were made to deserving people. To some people the motive was security. It was safe to be where others were, because absence meant cowardice or insubordination. In any given encounter, it was always possible for the Rujumbura ruler to put into the field more men than his opponents.

It was and still is believed widely that an important factor contributing to his successes in war and raids was his mother Kaharagi's magic. She raised the art to the level of a profession. Stories of her exploits are still extant. Before an expedition left, she would plant millet in the morning and harvest it in the evening. It would be ground into flour and bread on top of the roof, without the thatch catching fire. Milk and beer would be placed in the path of home-coming cattle, which passed leaving the contents intact. Each of the warriors tasted the millet, milk and beer. The main idea behind such magic rituals was to excite the mind, and prepare it to react favourably to the coming event. After tasting the magical formula, the warriors believed it made them impregnable. Once success was attained it strengthened belief in the power of magic. The application of magic was not one-sided. Once the invading side had been fortified it was necessary to weaken the victims. One way was to poison a cow or a person. While excitement was still high a surprise attack would take them unaware. The success over Beene Kanyamuheebe was credited to Kaharagi's magic.

By means of these devices, Muhozi built himself a sizeable territory. He was properly speaking the first ruler of Rujumbura, his predecessors having only ruled parts. His dominion fell into three parts.

- (i) Rujumbura where his rule was based on heredity, though force had been used to assert the claim.
- (ii) Areas like Kambuga, Kuvumbu, Kihiki, Kikombe, and Kinkizi which paid tribute and were regarded as conquered territory though not occupied (except Kambuga).
- (iii) Areas like Kayonza and Buganza (Congo) over which some influence was exercised but which were not controlled. Raids were usually sent to assert the claim.

One of Muhozi's successes for which he was only indirectly responsible was the elimination of the Banyabusano from Eastern Rujumbura. After the Baishekatwa defeat, Bashambo and Banyabusano remained the two big groups numerically. Conflict appeared to be but a matter of time, and was postponed by Muhozi's engagements in the south. Before the impending conflict occurred, Beenekihondwa joined the scene as unexpected allies.

Beenekihondwa are Bashambo clan descended from Kihondwa, one of Kahaya's sons. They lived in Bwishikatwa, the Mpororo heartland, on the other side of Banyabusano. The plains, otherwise a cattle paradise, experienced severe droughts regularly. During one such dry season, Beene Kihondwa wished to pasture their herds in the Banyabusano area, but the

latter objected. Beenekihondwa forced their way through and fighting broke out.

The fight could not have been foreseen and was a surprise onslaught as in a raid. The Banyabusano led by Rubuzibwa were routed. Katiri the Beene Kihondwa leader did not wish to risk conflict with Beene Kirenzi, and withdrew. Muhozi sent his forces to intercept the fleeing Banyabusano and capture their cattle.

It was believed at the time that the "rain kings" of Kinkizi had been employed to prolong the drought and provide the occasion for the clash. Muhozi, in any case had an axe to grind. The Banyabusano had just helped their cousin Murera, the fugitive king of Kayonza to escape from his country.⁹ More important than Muhozi's alleged involvement, was the fact that Banyabusano were dispersed to the neighbouring states. Many fled to Kayonza and Nkore. Those who remained submitted to Muhozi who now gained control of Rujumbura.

Muhozi's campaigns overshadowed his other achievements which were considerable. As he grew older, he lessened his campaigns and settled down. This brought an era of peace to his dominions. This was ascribed to an ailment coming from an injury inflicted by a poisoned arrow during an expedition. The popular belief in Rujumbura is that king Rutairuka, Murera employed a Mutwa to shoot him. This is now denied on good authority by the Kayonza sources which have named a Kikombe man as being responsible.¹⁰ The arrow was removed but the injury is believed to have caused the pneumonic disease from which he died.

Muhozi was the first Mukama of Rujumbura and his reign marks the establishment of the Bashambo system which as has been shown, was based on the politics of inequality. The different areas were ruled by his relatives. Rusikasikye an uncle ruled the north western areas of Rushasha, Ruhinda and was 'governor' of Kuvumbu. Uncles Kigoye, Rwakicunganwa, and Kabaza ruled the central, eastern and southern area respectively. Mbuzi controlled the area east of Nyakinengo but was forced out because he tried to carve out a small state of his own. Muhozi attacked and defeated his followers, forcing him to flee eastwards. He was killed by a Rwanda raiding party on his way to Rwanda.

Apart from Banyarwanda raids, a period of peace prevailed. Little is known about Muhozi's family life. He had many wives. Those remembered were Nyabuhoro of the Baitira clan who died after childbirth. She was the mother of Makobore. The other was Oriomubandi mother of Ntimbiri, who married Ntare V of Nkore. His other daughters were Kobutunga and Bago-mbera. The other sons were Bushaija, Rukwira, Rugembe and Kacumu.

Two events in foreign relations occurred during Muhozi's last days. One was the marriage of his daughter Ntimbiri to the king of Nkore, Ntare V. The other was the advent of traders who brought guns, cloth and other trade goods. These two events were the beginning of themes which developed in the next reign.

Muhozi died at Nyakasheru, his main settlement, a fairly old man. A well travelled man, he left a legendary record on account of his exploits which left Rujumbura a power it had not been when he assumed control.

MAKOBORE

Muhozi's death can in many ways be taken as marking the end of old Rujumbura independent in its own way. The rule of his son was marked by many events such as the increasing inflow of foreigners and their commodities, the impacts of which were to undermine the social and political structure of the country. The last quarter of the 19th century was in many ways "a time of troubles".

Makobore was Muhozi's eldest son. He grew up under the vigilant care of his grandmother Kaharagi, because his mother Nyabuhoro died after his birth. Like children brought up by grandparents, he seems to have been sheltered from all troubles and grew up untouched by worldly cares, albeit a good-natured person. He was still a minor when his father died but succeeded his father without opposition, being the eldest son. The uncles accepted the situation calmly but a decisive influence was undoubtedly Kaharagi under whose wing he had grown. Power politics among the Bashambo seem to have been sharpest between rival lineages, but never within the family holding the top job.

The early period saw no changes in the system. The administration of the different areas was manned by relatives. The Entembani kept up their operations in the south west where cattle, goats, and slaves, were captured. On the home front traders came and went bringing trade goods consisting of guns, cloth, copper wire, beads etc . . . The gun traders were strange people known all over western Uganda as Barunganwa. They were probably Swahili as their description rules out Arabs. They were followed by Bahaya and Baziba from the Lake states south of Mpororo. The commodity desired most was ivory but since it was not locally available the traders passed on to the areas near the Lake. They gave out a few commodities to get past and to secure food. Trade goods therefore remained few until measures were taken to increase the availability of ivory. Only then did trade goods increase.

Like sons of rich people, Makobore married quite early. His remembered wives include Mpekyeki, Nyabutyari, Byansheshemura, and Bagoza. Most children of rich men were not necessarily their physical children and so it was with Makobore, who was alleged to be sterile. Legally the children belonged to the husband of the wife and not the physical progenitor. His many sons included Rwabambari, Njoka, Rurege, Kasirabo, Rwamashonje, Buzirwa, Kajwarire and Karegyesa.

LIFE AND POLITICS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

People in other lands called Rujumbura rulers Bakama, (singular Murkama) not Bagabe as they possessed no drums. Locally the chief ruler was

called our lord, hence the title of "Mukama wa Kagunga" (Lord of Kagunga). His praise name was Ruhanya Bigyere (steadfast) Rutasyahwa (one who can't be overawed) Entare ya Kagunga (Lion of Kagunga).

The focal point of the country's activities was the Court. In the absence of a fixed capital with permanent residential and office quarters, the court was where the ruler happened to be living. Kagunga qualifies to be called the capital at this time because he stayed there longer than at other places. He occupied other sites, Kambuga, Nyakibare and Nyamizi where Europeans first found him. A site was occupied for about four to six years, whereupon another one in the neighbourhood would be selected.

Makobore's court consisted of a large enclosure inside which was a number of houses clustered around the big house "Nyaruju", the ruler's living place, where he also held court. The smaller houses were occupied by his wives and members of his household and distinguished visitors. The people at court fell into several categories. First were the members of the Mukama's household. This consisted of wives, children, relatives, concubines, servants and handmaids. The outsiders may be divided into visitors and courtiers. The visitors were the relatives of the ruler's household, friends or people outside the country on business. The courtiers who came from both Bairu and Bahima groups may be divided into three classes, namely the Bambari, Batware and Bashongore.

Bambari were the Bairu favourites who lived around Kagunga, Buchenche and Kyakajura. They performed casual functions such as cooking for the many visitors, distributing beer; they built houses, made and mended fences, attended the ruler at all times, carrying him and going on his errands, fighting, arresting insubordinate subjects etc.

Some were self-made men who had risen to favour through hard work, and because they lived at court they almost severed links with the home areas. People like Nyabayangwe and his brother Rwekuubo lived at court all their lives. Some courtiers became distinguished fighters and were even given guns e.g. Miranda, Rutobera and Migaramo. A special category of other favourites consisted of skilled individuals, medicinemen like Katigi, Rugeyeguza, Ruhamiza and his brother Karoro, smiths like Rwemisingo and his son Tuura, Ruhondeza and Rehesi. They provided products and services to the rulers and their subjects. Another group of favourites were clan heads who held authority in distant and inaccessible areas. Their work was to collect "mitoiyo" which they brought to the court regularly. They got rewards of meat, hides and occasionally live animals. Such men were Muvunya, Musingo of Nyakinengo, Katerantomi and Karombani, Basyaba of Rugando, Rukumbira of Mabanga, Rucwekanisa of Kashozi.

The Batware were Bahima favourites who took charge of the Mukama's cattle kraals. They were in positions of power and wealth. They were the de facto husbands of the wives attached to the kraals and received tribute due to the wives. If they did their work diligently they received more presents of cattle from the ruler. They started their life as youths at court.

The Bashongore, those raised above the others, were non-Bashambo favourites of long standing. Some had started their lives as young men who proved their worth and were given cattle to set up independently. The favourites included maternal uncle Otabanzibwa of Kibunda, Rubabangira, of Kashozi, Mukabi of Buyanja, Rushimiza of Kagunga, Kyabushonde of Nyamizi.

There was one main way of becoming a favourite. That was for a person to go to court and work his way up. A person could again favour in numerous ways — the way he talked, wrestled, threw a spear, looked after cattle or did any other work. Usually young boys went and lived at court. When they did well they gained favour and were given cattle and other favours. Becoming a favourite was one reason why people went to court. What were the other motives? The primary motive of coming to court was acquisitive, namely to acquire cattle, goats, meat, hides and slaves. The Mukama was easily the richest man in the country. He possessed many herds of cattle and received more from his subjects. If any subject distinguished himself, there were chances of acquiring material goods. The acquisitive motive was clearly seen in the case of Bambari. By living within easy reach of the court they had access to foodstuffs which came in tribute — millet, meat, butter and beer at relatively little cost. They also secured goats and even cattle. In this way they were able to attain a higher standard of living than other people of their class.

One other motive was security. If an important man absented himself from court he was liable to be thought disloyal. People therefore went to court to profess loyalty. Since the court was a place of many opportunities for winning favour, there were also many ways of losing one's reputation. The presence of so many people meant that rumour mongering, and tale-bearing were common. It was not uncommon for people to tell lies against someone who was about to win and cause him to be ruined.

MIRANDA AND COURT POLITICS

The influence of the court and its limitless opportunities, are typified by the brilliant career of Miranda the Mwiru courtier who came to serve as Makobore's chief servant, military commander, ambassador plenipotentiary to foreign traders and white men, and as administrator under the colonial regime. He belonged to that class of leaders like Mbaguta, Kagwa etc., products of the troubled times of the late 19th century.

Miranda rose from the courtier class. His father was Kashaija, whose name was changed to Rweibabiro, a courtier of Muhozi and a brave warrior. His lineage was that of Bakora (Baitira) whose ancestors came from modern Congo. He grew up at court and won Makobore's favour on account of his wisdom in council. He was a brilliant mind, quick to grasp the requirements of a situation and act decisively. Miranda was as decisive on the battle field and this made him indispensable. He was a member of Makobore's body-guard, the Enyakabito who attended him and fought on his behalf.

Life at Court permitted few changes in the basic routine. It revolved around the person of the ruler. Later in life Makobore became a gigantic man. He stood up to six feet and weighed over twenty one stone. In his youth he was tall and big. In his old-age he wobbled along with the help of a spear. On long journeys he was carried in a specially designed litter supported by eight instead of the usual four men. Makobore woke up about 9 a.m., drank some milk, and attended the "Eishazi" (cattle resting before pasture) to see how the cattle fared. When the cattle dispersed, people from all walks of life came to pay homage. Some were visitors from far, others, had grievances to appeal and some were there to seek favours. Makobore sat on his huge stool surrounded by courtiers, giving decisions, granting favours and giving orders. Meanwhile beer was consumed in abundance and if some distinguished visitors were around, beasts were killed and meat consumed.

In the afternoons, Makobore attended the watering of cattle, followed by the talk at the "Kikumiro" (cows resting after watering). The gathering returned home to consume more beer and talk. This went on until bed time. Variations on the routine occurred when the ruler was on tour or indisposed.

As he had little liking for wars, he often sent one of his relatives to deputize for him. The area which bore the brunt of his attacks was Butumbi. Miranda knew the area well and was always the effective leader of expeditions. The area was weak politically, none of the states being able to put many men in the field. The area abounded in cattle, goats, beautiful carpets, tools and domestic ware. Another consideration was the fact that the people were so different. They spoke a different dialect and were not related to the Rujumbura people. The morality of the period sanctioned looting and enslaving other people so long as these were not one's own people.

After ascertaining the availability of flocks, raiders consisting of courtiers and others left on an evening and made a surprise attack just before dawn. All things of value — domestic animals, skins and tools such as hoes, spears, knives, and young men and women were carried off. If the victims learnt of the planned attack before hand they either hid themselves with their property or prepared to defend themselves. Occasionally the attackers lost many people. When guns were introduced, they were used to scatter and frighten the defenders while the raiders carried off the loot. A song accredited to Miranda shows the extent of the raids.

Runuza was captured in Kara;
Ngabo was taken in Katanda (Congo).
Broke I the gourd of Nyabeya,
While capturing Kibibi,
My gun sounded in Bukonjo
Where I had raided.¹¹

Though risky, these operations provided the ruler and his subjects a mean of increasing their wealth. The women and boys captured were used

as domestic servants or sold off in exchange for goats or other commodities. Property would be shared out. Poor men wishing to marry, or impoverished families to better their lot, found a raid very rewarding. By means of these successful raids and through favours conferred on him, Miranda became rich and maintained a court second only to Makobore's. All his three wives came from the Basyaba clan. He had many children including Nyabagabo, Biteyi and Rwamunabe.

A factor which contributed to the increased tempo of the raids was the gun trade. Guns introduced during Muhozi's last days remained expensive because there were no commodities with which to exchange them. The commodity demanded by the traders was ivory. Makobore was able to overcome the scarcity of ivory by taking steps to control the ivory supply from the south and north-western states. It was either exacted from the rulers in tribute or Rujumbura hunters were sent to shoot the elephants. The need for ivory led to more frequent attacks in these areas. It is said that Makobore raided Kayonza no fewer than six times.¹²

Gun-holding was a royal monopoly. The Mukama bought the guns and gave them to his trusted courtiers and other subjects in his dominions. The pattern of distribution was entirely in the hands of the Bairu and geographically biased in favour of Kambuga the area bordering on the tributary states, where the need was great. The inhabitants of these areas used them to raid and loot. The long list of gunholders included:--

Migaramo son of Kibengure, Miranda son of Kashaija (Rwibabiro); Rutobera, Kyamasinde, Burisa, Buhimbi, and Mijumba.

Of these the first three became famous, the first and third as elephant hunters and the second as a warrior. They became powerful and wealthy. Guns brought power by their ability to kill. Though rarely used as weapons of offence locally, the possession of one was enough to secure compliance in a demand. Wealth was produced in two main ways: hunting or fighting. Hunters were allowed one tusk from every elephant killed, and the second went to the ruler. The tusks were exchanged for the trade goods which were then exchanged for those things society valued most. Consequently they accumulated cattle, sheep and goats and thus joined the ranks of the rich, possessing means of patronage and attracted favour-seekers as did the Bashambo rulers. One instance may be cited to show the power of the gun.

Kobutunga, a sister of Makobore, visited Migaramo one of the "gun-princes" to ask for a piece of cloth. The latter for one reason or other was busy and sent word to that effect to the lady. She was so infuriated at the slight that on reporting the incident to Makobore, an expedition was sent to despoil the impertinent courtier of his seventy heads of cattle and to withdraw the gun.¹³ The incident was illustrative of the changing relationship. Migaramo felt sufficiently powerful and rich to assert himself, something hitherto unheard of.

Fighting with guns was another effective means of securing wealth as their use invariably brought victory. Their effectiveness lay in their

noise and capacity to frighten. About 1893, following the decimation of cattle by the rinderpest, Miranda who led a raiding party in Bakiga country captured the cattle after shooting a volley to disperse the stiff resistance posed by the defenders. After such success, the gunholder secured the greater share of the loot. Miranda and his Bakora relatives were the main beneficiaries of the new order. They acquired wealth and some even married Bahima wives.

During the last quarter of 19th century, a small section of the Bairu were able to join the ranks of the ruling classes because of the new power of the guns. The other factor lay in the personality of the ruler Makobore. Partly through his liberal disposition, and partly through the alleged sexual perversion, he gave cattle, or tolerated Bairu to have some. The effect of these tendencies was revolutionary. To the coming of the European the court remained the fount of all riches and honours as well as the resort of all who sought redress. The court during Makobore's time was trying to minimize the disparities brought about by the politics of inequality.

The fraction of those who went to court was of course always small. The majority of the people stayed in the country-side. Life was difficult. Some people were so poor that they did not have the tools to work the land and so did not have food through the year. Food shortages were prevalent owing to occasional drought but also to inadequate cultivation. There were not many trees and since the house materials were not strong, wild animals especially hyenas molested people. Curative knowledge was never very high and occasional outbreaks of epidemics such as plague, yaws or some other dangerous diseases took a heavy toll. But life was not always so dismal. Times of hard work often brought spells of much happiness to the people. Apart from inter-lineage feuds, wars were rare in Rujumbura and social institutions minimized conflicts.

ADMINISTRATION

The administration of Rujumbura at the end of the century was what it had been during most of the century. At the head was the Mukama. He had no drum or any other symbol of power. He ruled by heredity. The claim, as put by most informants, was the spear, namely the ability to exercise force. Makobore, as those who met him agree, was a man of the finest character. He was kind, liberal and just. He helped all in need and punished wrong doers and his favourites came from all groups. Asked how Makobore the apparently soft-hearted man kept control, an informant replied that he was gifted and knew how to rule. He did those things which please subjects, avoiding those which alienate them. He never killed or extorted but gave in abundance.¹⁴

Each administrative unit, never rigidly demarcated, was presided over by a relative, looking after the area within the vicinity of his home. Rwakicunganwa, and later his son Rukari, looked after much of the eastern area. Rugembe, brother to Makobore, lived at Kitimba north of Kagunga. Rwakishengara lived at Kahoko and took charge of the area nearby. Rwakishengara

looked after the lower southwest. His brother Kosire ruled Karangaro to the north west areas. Some areas in the north and north east were generally left to themselves, and there were no resident Bashambo. Clan leaders reported directly to the Mukama. Such areas were parts of Kebisoni, Buhunga and Kyaruyenje.

As the administrative duties were light, these area chiefs mainly led a life of luxury. They maintained smaller courts, like that of Kagunga, drinking all day long. Occasionally they took portions of "Mitoiyo" to Kagunga. Some of the courtiers at these courts provided the raw materials for the making of the colonial chiefs used under British administration.

A number of these Bashambo rulers were notorious for their cruelty. The list included Kinyina and Rwekirara but the worst offender was Rwekishenga. They were brutal in their use of force, often beating or spearing people in a fit of rage. Some were, however, quite kind and liberal. Rukaari and Rugembe fell into this category.

The system was regimented, allowing no promotion, a son held his father's position during good behaviour. The only function of the system was the provision of the ruling classes with goods and services to lead a higher standard of living than the majority of the population.

RUJUMBURA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

Rujumbura's history is incomplete unless its relations with its neighbours are taken into account. As its borders are open, mobility has been the chief characteristic of its population patterns. Migration has been a continuous process even to the present time.

Relations with the neighbouring countries consisted of a maze of interactions. Beneath it, however, one can discern some consistent themes which can be termed the area's foreign policy :-

(1) Population movements

(2) Contacts

(ii) Social (ii) Political (iii) Military

Migrations in and out of the area must have gone on for as long as people lived in the area. The population patterns show that Rujumbura's people came from neighbouring areas.

By the same process Rujumbura groups live in Kajara, Sheema, Kambuga, Igara, and Nyarushanje. Contacts between the areas were effected through visits to relatives, marriages and blood brotherhood. Through these contacts, relations between countries remained friendly.

One method of social contact was through trade. Although each community satisfied its own needs in food and dress, there were certain goods

ever in high demand because they were not locally produced or never in adequate supply. Iron was required for the numerous tools needed for domestic, agricultural tools and for weapons. Although smiths abounded, the scarcity of iron ore deposits made the demand for iron very high. Supplies were secured from Kayonza, passing through Kinkizi. There, iron or iron tools were exchanged for food products especially dairy ones and hides. Hostility was reduced by blood relationships, and in this way contacts were effected.

A trade commodity covering a wide area of south west Uganda was salt. The only deposits were those at Katwe in Toro. Salt substitutes were processed from the ashes of a certain bush growing in the valleys, but its use was not wide-spread.¹⁵ Everywhere, the demand was satisfied by Katwe salt. The supplies of Nkore and eastern Mpororo passed through Igara, but Rujumbura got its salt via the kingdom of Kuvumbu.

Salt trade was the mainstay of the Kuvumbu economy. The Kuvumbu people paddled salt in canoes from Katwe to the Lake shore where it was exchanged for food. People from Rujumbura and Butumbi brought food especially millet part of which was given as fee for passage and the rest exchanged for salt. The journey to Kuvumbu was hazardous, passing as it did through areas full of wild animals, snakes and unknown people. Bands of between twenty and fifty gathered together for the journey which took them several weeks. They carried their own food and that for trade. Some carriers lost their lives or salt at the hands of unscrupulous bands, but most arrived safely. Young men preparing to marry often had to accompany their relatives to secure goods for the bride gift. Part of the salt was put aside for consumption and the rest taken to distant lands for trade. Goats from Rwanda, iron ore and tools from Kayonza, skins and dairy products were some of the things procured. These contacts were not one sided but greater initiative seems to have been from Rujumbura. The overall results were the establishment of understanding and the reduction of hostility.

WARFARE

Raids and wars were important ways in which contacts were made with other people. They were effective indicators of the trends in the changing power balance and foreign policy. In the estimation of Rujumbura the areas to the southeast were not to be attacked. These were the Mpororo states of Kajara and the Bakiga areas. With one exception Rujumbura invasions came from there and most of the Bairu and Bahima clans, the Banyarwanda raiders and the BeeneKihondwa came by that route. The areas to the north-east (Oruhinda, Igara) and those to the north and west were weaker and the victims of persistent raids in the late 19th century. To make a war needed a thorough knowledge of the geography and people of an area. Spies disguised as vendors, or collaborators resident in an area, supplied the information. When the operation was finished, young boys, women and girls were captured. These contacts contributed to the patterns of foreign relations.

Probably at the beginning of the 19th century a new factor entered the politics of the lower lake area. This was the emergence of Rwanda as a power. Invasions never reached far out until the latter half of the century when Rwabugiri embarked on large-scale war. Earlier, raiding parties had been sent for booty. They were never attacked but rather all movable property was hidden. The cruelty of the Banyarwanda warriors is still proverbial.¹⁶ Had Rwabugiri not died the balance of power over south-west Uganda would have been anyone's guess. His death and the advent of the European powers altered the trend of affairs.

One other way by which states cemented relations was that of marriages between the ruling clans. Rujumbura had such links with its neighbours. One was Ntare V of Nkore's marriage to Ntimbiri daughter of Muhozi. Rwengabo king of Kayonza had married Karwasha, daughter of Nyabeya of the Banyabusano of Rujumbura. Towards the end of the century Kinyina, Makobore's relative married a daughter of Beene Mafundo, the Bashambo rulers of Igara.

THE TROUBLES: WAR, DISEASES AND WHITE MEN

The first decade of Makobore's reign was as a whole peaceful except for raids into the West and otherwise the peace of Muhozi persisted. The later period was marked by a chain of events the total effect of which was to undermine and transform the structure of society. The three most remembered events were the war with Nkore, the animal and human diseases and the coming of the Europeans:

The War With Nkore

"The war of the thousands" as it is popularly called is the best remembered precolonial event. The site of the main battle was called "Kagogo" after the thousands of people who fought there. The fighting resulted in unprecedented bitterness as practically every family lost a relative. Those who survived suffered bodily or material losses. The encounter was the first external threat in which all the people of Rujumbura participated. The cause of the war was Ntare V's desire to conquer Rujumbura. In Nkore, it was held to be the desire for cattle following the ravages of the rinderpest. Locally it was believed to have been the result of a quarrel between Princess Magwende and Ntare's wife Ntimbiri. The cause of the war was summed up by Makobore when told of the imminent invasion. "I prefer to pay tribute to Rwanda than to Nkore" he said.¹⁷

For two centuries there had been little or no political contacts. As a result of internal forces and the introduction of guns, expansionism and raiding resulted. During his reign c.1830-70 Mutambuka attacked all the neighbouring states and even reached Toro. Rujumbura was not attacked but it is said that he demanded tribute, which Muhozi did not pay. Muhozi's daughter then married Mutambuka's son.

The "Casus belli" of the 1890s was said to be Ntare's desire to replenish his cattle. The cattle motive was interwoven with the expansionist one

and the result was a series of operations whose pattern sets out the underlying reasons very clearly. The attacks were directed at Nkore's neighbours starting with the weaker, in two parallel lines. The first consisted of Migiro and Rujumbura (stronger), and the second the Mpororo states of Nshenyi, Rufuha, Butaya and then Rwanda (stronger). A new feature of the wars was that the weaker states were occupied and the local rulers replaced. Migiro and Nshenyi suffered this fate.

What caused the spark remains problematical.¹⁸ The outcome was that a mixed force of Baganda, Banyankore and groups from the tributary states of Igara and Kajara, about three thousand, invaded Rujumbura probably in 1890. The leader of the army was Ntare's brother Igumira assisted by his brother Rujabuka. They had some guns but the majority fought with spears, bows and arrows. The "Emitwe" (regiments) which fought there were those of: Batenga — leader Kabumbire and the Babagani — of Igumira. The forces came by way of Sheema through the northeast. A three-pronged attack was planned with a central body under Igumira, assisted by a right wing composed of Igara people, and a left wing of Kajara men. The trunk was to march through the heart of the country while the wings cut off the fugitives. The operation was however forestalled.

Rujumbura's army was smaller, numbering about two thirds of the invaders. They were less prepared and most people had taken cattle, women and children to safety. Their guns were fewer and their marksmen less experienced. Makobore led the army, assisted by several uncles and brothers. Miranda was, however, the effective leader. All able bodied people had hurriedly been called up.

The two armies occupied opposite hills and the encounter took place in the valley. First small groups engaged in hand to hand conflict but later the whole side joined. The short spears of the defenders were an advantage in hand to hand conflict, where guns and longer spears were less effective. For a whole day fighting went on and slaughter mounted. Finding it increasingly difficult to withstand the 'Migogo' pressure, the defenders called for a retreat under cover of rain. They made for Kambuga where knowledge of local geography was an advantage. The pursuers made little progress as they took time to fend for themselves and take booty. The cattle had been taken to the other side of Lake Edward and were never captured. The survivors returned home by way of Igara taking cattle and goats captured in the chase.

Casualties were high on both sides including Rujabuka and Makobore's brother Rukwire. The wounded and disabled were also many. Eye witness accounts have it that Banyankore bodies filled three valleys. The accounts may be exaggerated, but they emphasize the fact that the toll was unprecedented.

According to the Nkore sources the primary objective of the expedition was achieved, many cattle, goats and slaves being captured, though they were killed by the rinderpest. In Rujumbura the invasion was a rude shock

to the *status quo*; Banyankore would have won if they had pressed. Pre-occupations increased. The ever increasing toll of rinderpest, human diseases, and Banyarwanda invasions followed. Ntare's death precluded further action and the conquest of Rujumbura was temporarily postponed.

Era of Diseases

People had scarcely returned from hiding and crops hardly sown when a series of difficulties set in. Starvation raged because crops had been slashed, houses had been burnt and the memory of the dead was too recent. A number of diseases attacked and killed both animals and people. Rinderpest, smallpox and locusts were an unholy trinity that hit East Africa in the 1890s. Rinderpest came hard on Banyankore heels and its origins have been traced to the Horn of Africa, spreading through present Kenya and Tanzania. Great suffering hit the Bahima and many migrated to areas not yet hit. Makobore moved to Kambuga which had not been infected.

Smallpox, jiggers, and blood flukes took toll without number. As the diseases were unknown, there were no remedies and so people died. Some families were wiped out and single survivors were common. Animals and birds of prey feasted continuously. As if this was not enough an army of locusts ate up all green vegetation.

The outcome of these disasters was utter misery and severe depopulation. The work of reconstruction moved very slowly. Bushaija, Makobore's brother, was killed while helping himself to another's cow. From Kambuga Makobore despatched raiding expeditions. Rwakishenga led one to Kikombe while Miranda went to the Bakiga areas. The captured cattle increased and were responsible for the numerous herds seen in Rujumbura at the beginning of this century.

The Coming of the Europeans

The existence of people who had a colour different was known long before they came. A number of talented people with power to see the future had already foretold their coming. One prophet was Nyakairima, a Mukiga living north-west of Lake Bunyonyi, and another was Kiboga mother of Ntare V. These prophecies slowly reached Rujumbura. More warnings came from the Bahaya traders who used to warn of more powerful people with powerful weapons. The possible existence of people "with skins like new-born babies" was generally ignored.

According to Ngologoza two Germans Emin Pasha and Dr. Stuhlman visited Makobore in 1891.¹⁹ The source of this is doubtful as neither Emin Pasha nor the local sources corroborate it. Emin Pasha said: "As Rujumbura is far off my route, I have abandoned the idea of going there".²⁰ The first European to visit the area was called 'Kakiramukyenkye' who passed through on his way to the Birunga Mountains. He was probably R. R. Racey or Lt. Mundy, who accompanied the former on an expedition to the Birunga in 1900 and returned to Mbarara by way of the Rift Valley. Writ-

ing to the Commissioner at Entebbe, in a despatch dated October 26, 1900, Racey the Acting Collector of Ankole writes:

"I have the honour to report having left Mbarara on the 6th instant to proceed to Rujumbura to inquire into the alleged murder of five men and robbery of various articles, in a caravan belonging to one Maningua Bundala as reported to you by Herr Von Beringe at Bukoba . . .

I took Lieutenant G. C. R. Mundy with me as his services would be required also half a company of Sudanese and thirteen hundred Wankole and Waganda . . .

On arriving at Niamizi (Nyamizi) Makobore chief of Rujumbura paid me a visit in a very friendly manner. As far as it was possible to ascertain the caravan in question had been interfered with in north Buchika. After causing careful inquiries to be made regarding the Ba-chika and a promise of the assistance of two hundred men from Niamizi (the whole of Makobore's army joined me however) decided to proceed to punish the Bachika".²¹

The man whose caravan was allegedly attacked was, deducing from the name, a Swahili trader living in German territory. He was attacked on his way from Butumbi. According to the international agreements of the time, peaceful trade was open to all nationalities. The area where the incident occurred was probably Nyakishenyi. Lt. Mundy was the Commander of the British forces in Ankole.

Makobore had by this time left Kambuga and was living at Nyamizi after briefly settling at Kasheshe and Nyakibare. His warriors volunteered not out of any desire to help the Europeans but in the words of a participant "in order to get booty". The group was led by Makobore's brother, Rugembe.

The Acting Collector was unable to find either the guns or ivory of M. Bundala or any proof of the attack. He nevertheless arbitrarily captured sheep and goats to the tune of 1950 rupees claimed as the value of the merchandise. One interesting detail was that he made "Makobore's brother LUJIMBI chief of north Buchika under Makobore . . . provided he proved himself capable." He added that "he appears to be the right kind of man."²² No further information exists as to whether Rugembe ever tried to carry out the work entrusted to him.²³

The Europeans were next heard of in Kambuga, where Belgians were penetrating eastwards from the Congo. A reign of terror was carried on: people of influence were forced to provide food and drink. They were arrested if they refused or shot at if they showed the least signs of resistance. Other crimes included rape. Those who could, fled into forests but the unfortunate had to meet the terms of ruthless strangers. The Belgians

made a camp at Nyakagezi near Kambuga. Some passed through Rujumbura and visited Makobore, on their way to Toro. They also camped at several places.

Rujumbura like many parts of Africa was a pawn in the international rivalry of the European powers. The case was special in that it lay in an area claimed by both the Belgians and the British, though the people did not know this. The external manifestations of the rivalry was the visits of the groups from south west (Belgians) and north-east (British). Makobore's relations with the white men were at first friendly but later became strained to the point of hostility. He determined never to meet them. The change of mind was the result of circumstances originating in the "cruelties" of the Europeans.

On the 4th January 1901, Musinga king of Igara killed himself before crossing his country's border while being carried to Mbarara at the insistence of the Collector Racey.²³ The news quickly spread that the Europeans had killed him. Although the Collector attempted to dispel the rumours by sending presents to the rulers of Igara's neighbours, Kajara and Rujumbura, the harm had been done.²⁴ The Belgians in the west also killed Nyakarasi King of Kayonza. Finding both the Belgians and British cruel, Makobore determined to hide from both and contemplated the idea of crossing to the German border to the South East.

According to the information reaching the British at Mbarara, Makobore crossed into the German territory with his army, cattle and movable property. Locally this was seen as another of his moves to hide from the Bajungu. Meanwhile, it was feared in Mbarara that a power-vacuum might result in the area which Makobore had effectively ruled. The Collector even contemplated "the advisability of sending a large party of friendly Bahima to temporarily occupy Rujumbura".²⁵ This was never done, as Makobore returned.

The last factor that poisoned the Makobore-European relations was the death of his brother Rugembe at the hands of the Belgians. He accompanied Racey on his expedition to the Birunga. He lived at Kitimba north of Kagunga. There is evidence that he disapproved of Makobore's actions and some allegations have been made that he planned to wrest power from him. While Makobore continued hiding from Bajungu, the Belgians captured a number of cattle from the country. When he returned he entrusted Rugembe with the job of negotiating the return of the cattle, from the Europeans now camped at Irembezi west of Kagunga.

Taking food and beer, Rugembe's mission was successful and a promise of returning the cattle was made. However he lost his life soon after at the hands of a soldier who was escorting him home. A party of armed men with whom he had come had hidden nearby waiting for him. When they emerged, the soldier suspected treachery and shot him dead. Makobore thereafter determined more than ever to hide; his cattle were taken to Nkore for safety while his wives sheltered in Rugando, deep in the south.

For his own part, Makobore slept by day and went at night into the inaccessible places of the country. It was at this time he earned the nickname of "Rwanyekiro" i.e. one who travels at night.

One important event which affected Rujumbura, however indirectly was the famine locally known as "Rwaranda" and as "Rwaramba" among the Bakiga. The famine followed a severe drought. Many people died. Those who had the strength sought food in the areas not affected. They sold their property, goats, sheep, skin and later children and wives. The importance of the event was that it caused an influx of people into Rujumbura and affected the population pattern. A number of Bakiga clans in southeast Rujumbura are survivors of the famine.²⁶

Another factor that greatly modified the population pattern was the coming of the Europeans. People living in the south and north east of Rujumbura flocked to the centre near Kagunga, hoping to escape the Europeans. It is in this way that the central areas, formerly cattle country, came to be settled. The "Banyaizimu of Nyaburondo" left Kambuga and settled near Kagunga while the "Babaga" left Kibirizi in N.E. and settled near Rukungiri.

The events of the period are confused, but certain themes emerge. While Makobore hid, the need for leadership became greater and people appealed to him to come to terms with the Europeans. Meanwhile the Europeans both locally and at home bargained over the ownership of the area. Makobore sent envoys to the white men and secured the return of the cattle after which he agreed to meet them. The British at the time aimed at incorporating Rujumbura into the kingdom of Nkore, which Makobore successfully resisted.²⁷ The officials at Mbarara considered it a natural component of Nkore. As early as 1900, a report said:

"Rujumbura, a large and very important tract, in the extreme south-west. Our influence there cannot be gauged but the chief regards himself as quite distinct from the rest of Ankole".²⁸

Just how Makobore resisted the move has been a mystery considering that Igara, Buhweju and Kajara were incorporated. Creating a viable administrative unit from numerous small ones was a British policy everywhere in Uganda and was locally championed by R. R. Racey. The decision not to incorporate appears to have come from Entebbe. The Collector had urged an expansionist policy following Makobore's flight to German territory.

"A complete change in contemplation of possible events must now take place. Ankole can soon be formed into a compact whole... A station is required in this district with a strong force not to keep order... but to meet with or prove a hindrance to the too free movement of parties".²⁹

What halted the expansion was not Makobore's convincing argument of past independence but rather the shortage of funds. The acting Commissioner Jackson in reply advised the need for restraint:

"To quote from your despatch you state...

"Ankole can soon be formed into a compact whole..."

"I cannot help thinking that you are not going the right way about accomplishing this end. It must be apparent to you that it is practically impossible for you to administer the whole of Ankole, and to bring it into a state of peace and prosperity, with the small means and assistance at your disposal. I may inform you at once, that there is nothing in H/M Special Commissioner's Estimates for next year that indicates a policy of expansion, on the contrary, it points to one of contraction.

"You will therefore have to 'cut your coat according to your cloth' and as you are already aware that an Anglo-German Delimitation Commission will, within this year, settle definitely the question of actual frontiers, you should leave the people of Rujumbura... as much alone as possible and endeavour to establish your authority by sound and just rule only as far as you can actually reach".³⁰

After this injunction the moves of incorporation were abandoned but never the interest. A new policy developed of keeping contact. This was to convince Makobore that he should accept British rule, deal directly with the Ankole Collector while not being subject of the Ankole king. This was shown when Makobore visited Mbarara in 1904. He went with Lieutenant Beherem of the Anglo-German Commission. The actual understanding between the two men cannot be ascertained. Locally, however, it was taken for granted that the Mukama had been taken prisoner. Feverish activity followed as people were stopped from cultivating, and cattle were collected for ransom. The ransom was never paid because those taking it met him returning. The monthly report for January 1904 recorded the following information:—

"Liet Beherem of the Anglo-German Boundary Commission arrived at Mbarara on 20th (January) bringing with him Makaburi chief of Rujumbura whom he had persuaded to visit Mbarara.

Every effort is being made to cause Makaburi to feel that he has a friend in the administration which will support him in time of need or trouble with his people and he was clearly given to understand in Baraza that he is to be in no way placed under the authority of Kahaya which he greatly fears but will deal directly with the government through the Collector"

"I am inclined," the report concluded "to think that he is genuinely disposed to be friendly. . ." ³¹

After his visit to Mbarara, Makobore chose his son Kajwarire to be his representative and keep contact with the Europeans. The son, however, died a few years later from a disease contracted there.

While trying to maintain good relations with Makobore, the British officials on the spot had an eye on Bakiga land. The indefatigable Racey had

as early as February 1901 addressed a memorandum to the commissioner to the effect that those areas should be secured for the British. The extract reads:-

"I have the honour to make the suggestion as in relation to the statement that an Anglo-German Boundary Commission will shortly state that a large portion of the country in the vicinity of that place known as Buchika be secured for the British Crown for it is well populated with a hardy race, rich in food and has some good pasture land. It may be that there are vast deposits of mineral wealth."

The details of the negotiations between the British, Belgians and Germans are yet unknown, but the outcome was the fixing of the international boundaries in 1911, by which Rujumbura the Bakiga lands and a portion inhabited by Kinyarwanda-speaking people fell into the British sphere. Makobore is said to have asked to join his area with the southern ones that formed the district of Kigezi. It is unknown who took the initiative. It has even been alleged that Makobore wished to become king of the new district. More important than these speculations was the fact that a new district was formed from the three parts and Makobore travelled to the Birunga Mountains for the inauguration of the district on October 26, 1912, which took place on a small hill called Kigezi which gave its name to the district. The inauguration thus ended a decade of uncertainty as to the aims and desires of the white men.

The period of the coming and going of the Europeans was one of uncertainty and suffering. Both the rulers and the common people were affected. The rulers were forced to provide food, drink, labour for drawing water, fetching firewood and most demanding of all transporting luggage. The demands were in turn transferred to the people. The difficulties of the time as well as the cruelties stemmed from the absence of a common language. Demands were communicated in an unfamiliar tongue and responses and reactions positive or negative depended on what each side guessed. If those in positions of influence were hit most for not responding favourably it was because they considered the demands "Ultra Vires". That some of them emerged alive and with some authority is a credit to them. Miranda the diplomat, for instance, did not know Swahili but had a way of communicating with strangers. He approached those of the followers who knew his language to communicate his message to the strangers.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Rwekuubo, 1968 at Kagunga. Oral evidence.
2. Nicolet papers, unpublished, at Mushanga parish, Ankole.
3. Bejuura Kiteme, 1968-9. Oral evidence.
- 4 The popular song in vernacular runs: "Rujumbura rwa Butonya, Omwana wa Murari."

5. P. Ngologoza, *Kigezi N'abantu Baamwo*, EALB 1967. Mazinio 1968 at Rubare. Oral evidence.
6. Baitwababo in *Ngano*; EAPH 1969.
7. See Rwankwenda, in chapter six.
8. S. Kyahwera, 1969 at Kebisoni. Oral evidence.
9. See Rwankwenda, in chapter six.
10. Written communication from M. M. Rwankwenda, August 1970.
11. S. Kyahera. See note 8.
12. M. Rwankwenda. See note 10.
13. Various versions are suggested. One that he sent a stick to be greeted instead of an arm and the other that he told her to come to his parlour where a lot of men were drinking.
14. Kakondo, Nyakaina: interview, August 1970.
15. The plant is called "Mubimbiri."
16. They deprived men of their genitals to provide ornaments for their royal drum Karinga. Until 1950s men so treated were in existence.
17. Kaguma Kihanga. (1969) oral interview.
18. It is suggested Makobore sent Ntare V a tusk saying it was a present not tribute. Then Ntare felt abused. The other version's that Ntimbiri boasted that Nkore people could not capture Rujumbura cattle.
19. See Ngologoza op. cit. p. 35.
20. Emin Pasha. Extracts in *Abagabe Bankore II* E.A.L.B. revised Ed. 1967 p. 72
21. Despatch Oct. 26, 1900 Mbarara & Entebbe Archives.
22. Idem.
Rugembe died soon after and Racey was told to leave the areas alone.
23. See despatch Feb. 1910 to Commissioner Mbarara & Entebbe Archives.
24. Racey sent a present worth 60.4 rupees but Makobore turned saying it contained poison (dawa). He later apologized.
25. Despatch from collector to Commissioner Feb. 15 1901 Mbarara & Entebbe Archives.

26. Basharu of kigaga for instance.
27. See Morris - A history of Ankole. EALB 1962 p. 45.
28. Extract from collector to Commissioner on Draft Agreement, 1901. Mbarara Archives.
29. Despatch collector to Commissioner dated Feb. 1901. Mbarara Archives.
30. Despatch Acting Commissioner to Collector March 6, 1901. Mbarara Archives.
31. Collector to Commissioner Jan. 1904 Mbarara Archives.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KINGDOM OF KUVUMBU

by. S. R. Baitwababo.

One of the small states conquered by Muhozi was Kuvumbu which lay on the eastern side of Lake Edward. Parts of the area were forested but others form the extensive plain of the rift valley which is studded by shrubs. Until recently the area was unhealthy owing to the prevalence of sleeping sickness vectors.

The people carried on little agriculture, depending on the foodstuffs brought by people who exchanged them for salt. Salt trade was the mainstay of the economy. It was carried from Katwe and transported in canoes across the lake by fishermen. Their food was supplemented with meat from wild animals, and fish.

Kuvumbu kingdom possessed a drum 'Katukura' and all paraphernalia of a typical interlacustine kingdom. The ruling clan was that of Baitira which originated at a place called Kahingo, Bukinda subcounty in the Bakiga country. The eponymous founders of the dynasty were two brothers who had followed an animal as far as the area, and found it good. They went home and returned with more people and property to settle the area. One of the founders become the leader and reinforced his prestige with the gift of rainmaking which brought the rulers much wealth. The earliest known ruler was Katabirora. The complete genealogy is as follows:-

Katabirora, Marusya, Karara, Rubaata, Byabagambi and Ndabahwerize.

The state was divided into areas ruled by royal officials who collected the king's dues in food stuffs, meat, fish and salt. The majority of the people belong to those groups related to people of eastern Congo and called Banyabutumbi. Apart from the first two rulers and the last, succession of the others was marked by civil war. Karara won a civil war against his brother Kantengwa with the help of troops from Igara. Relations with that country had been established by Katabirora. In order to reinforce his legitimacy, Karara secured a drum from Igara called "Katukura" and provided it with a chain of rituals as well as an establishment. It was displayed during the making ceremony, and the succession of a new ruler.

Karara's successor Rubata fought a civil war against his brother Katirimo who unsuccessfully sought reinforcements from Banyaruguru to the north. He got none and gave up. It was during Rubata's reign that Muhozi invaded Kuvumbu and conquered the area, appointing his uncle Rusikasikye

as governor. Never resident, his only work was that of sending officials to demand annual tribute in carpets, skins of wild animals and salt.

Byabagambi, Rubata's son and successor, fought a short civil war against his cousin Bijugo. His time was marked by the advent of long distance traders and Europeans. The former came through Rujumbura purposely to acquire ivory for which they gave cloth, beads, and other trade goods, part of which was sent to Rujumbura as tribute. Kakiramukyenkye (possibly R. R. Racey) was the first European visitor to the area (date 1900) on his way from the Mufumbiro Mountains. He had many cattle, some of which strayed in the area. Belgians were the next visitors. They came from the south.

When British rule was established, the kingdom of Kuvumbu was not recognized. The area was incorporated into Rujumbura and was not even accorded the status of a subcounty. Instead it was administered as a parish of Ruhinda subcounty. It was at this time decided to burn the sleeping sickness infected area and people were moved 'en masse' to higher areas of Kihihi and Nyakageme. When Kuvumbu was declared habitable again the population was repatriated. When the population increased in the 1920s, a subcounty of Kuvumbu was erected and Ndabahwerize the claimant to the throne was appointed chief in 1923.

REFERENCE.

I am grateful, for this information, to Thomas Kafuruka, a descendant of the royal line, and to A. Rutagaza, both of Bwambara. The interview took place 20/January/69.

CHAPTER SIX

The History of Kayonza: M. M. R. Rwankwenda.

The History of the Ruling Dynasty.

The ruling clan in Kayonza was known as Barengya, and comprised sub-groups of Bahayirwa (the ruler's family), Barahura, Baseta and Bashanzha. Their progenitor was Karengya, one of a group of brothers who once ruled in Rwanda. One dry season the Mukama of the Babanda decided to blame the Barengya, and refused to accept his people's presents until someone assassinated Kimezamiryango. Kimezamiryango and his family were duly killed, and the few who survived were Karengya, his two brothers Kaganza and Kashanzha, their sister Nyinamukari, and their servant Kasigyi who was a tobacco carrier and a magician. They fled via Bugyesera in Rwanda to Bukongo, and from there to Iremera which was inhabited by the Basakuru clan. They passed through the Kasherashere forests and arrived at lake Kasherashere. At that point Kasigyi prophesied that they would have to throw Nyinamukari into the water before they would be able to cross. Accordingly they dressed her as if for a wedding and threw her in. The lake at once became very shallow, and the rest of the party crossed to the other side. Passing through Rungo they reached Rushambya, where they found the Bungura clan, descendants of Nkuba from Irima. While they were hunting they reached Irangizo, a part of Kayonza, and realised that Kayonza was a good country with few forests. They fetched their possessions and their cow from Rushambya, and settled at Ijangizo, where they lived with Bazoza who came from Rubunga.⁽¹⁾

The important people they found in Kayonza were Bungura, Basendwa from Irima, Banyarushuri and Bajigyi, both from Rwanda. These groups met together and selected Karengya to be their leader and to represent them to Kahaya Kamurari. Karengye therefore became king. When he went to Rukiga to inform Kahaya, the latter gave him four drums to enable him to rule and advised him how to use them. The first drum was Nyakahoza, and the second its wife Nyamurihura, the third Karemera, and fourth Muhabura. Karengya, in turn, gave Karemera to his younger brother Kaganza, who was to rule Buganza. Katimbo was to rule Mulamba, and Kaseta was to rule Mpungu, while Reviru was to rule Buzyengwe.⁽²⁾ Karengya established the boundaries and administration of Kayonza. Bukimbiri, Kinaba and Bwebwa, Buganzu and Kagonza, Kikombe of Nyonga, were divided by him. Kayonza was separated from Kinkiizi by the river Ishasha. The Bayundo clan were to look after the drums; Mushorero was to be the rulers' burial site; Isingiro was to be the site of coronations; and palaces should be built at Ngirisi.⁽³⁾

The royal dynasty is as follows: Karengya, the father of Ndarubehera, father of Nyakarasi I, father of Yeye, father of Muhayerwa, father of Karamira, father of Komuramuko, father of Byabagambi I, father of Rwengabo, father of Rwisima Rutairuka, father of Nyakarasi II, father of Muginga (Byabagambi II), father of Rwankwenda the present writer⁽⁴⁾. The kings ruled over the following peoples in Kayonza: Batimbo from Ndorwa, Bazhingwe from Nyamabare, Bayebe (or Baheka) from Kiyebe, Bazhara from Mubale, Banyonzi from Mpororo, Banyabusano from Mpororo, Banyamasizi from Mpororo, Bahunde from Bwitwa, and Batwa from Rwanda. The Bahunde came to Kayonza during Rwengabo's reign. Their last king was Itembero, son of Hangye, son of Mulali, son of Kahaya, son of Muzara. The Bahororo came during the reign of Rwirima. We may look at the reigns of the kings.

Karengye. The first thing he did was to gather his subjects and tell them what Kahaya Kamurari had said. The people chose him to be their king and their judge. He chose well-known people to administer, and to see that his subjects were contented: viz., Katimbo in Mulongero, Ndahura in Mushorero, Kaseta in Mpungu and Rushambya, Kiringama in Mukono, and Rwiru in Bugengwa and the south. He then bought a bull for his calf, and the cows multiplied. He taught his subjects to love one another, not to kill each other or slander each other's families, and above all to respect the kings' tombs at Mushorero, and when he died at Kagura his body was buried in one of those tombs. He was succeeded by his son Ndaruhebera, who ruled very well, and who initiated the practice of cleaning the palace compounds. When he died he was also buried at Mushorero. He was succeeded by his son Nyakarasi I, who also ruled well and for many years. He had many wives, and so his sons began fighting during his own life time. Ndahura and Muhayirwa had the same mother, and two other princes were Kaseta and Rwebiraro. Kaseta, knowing that a prince with one eye could not become king, plucked out the eye of Ndahura. When their father discovered this he cursed Kaseta, and forced him to eat mutton as proof that he was no longer one of the royal family. Muhayirwa became king, in fulfilment of a prophecy. Ndahura's art of rain-making was passed to Muhayirwa, but Ndahura himself was greatly respected. Later it was decided that Kaseta had been careless rather than malicious, and he was given part of Mpungu to rule, and a spear as a present.

Muhayirwa was enthroned at Nyakarutoma (where his bark-tree is). He fathered Karamira, and is buried at Mushorero.⁽⁵⁾ Karamira's succession (which happened while he was at Nyarusambi) was contested by his brothers Karutwa, Kyomukara, and Banturaki who were all full brothers of each other. Karamira escaped by night, and won the support of king Kahindiro at Enduga in Rwanda. With weapons and soldiers from Kahindiro, he soon won the succession war. Being very brave, he became very rich though fighting. He died at an early age, was buried at Mushorero, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

Rwengabo came to the throne at Kagara (now called Iraso). He was one of Kayonza's best rulers. He befriended many different people. Ba-

hima came from Mpororo to be ruled by him, on account of his generous reputation. He repulsed Bishobire who wanted to take Rugando and Kyeshero away from Kayonza. Rwengabo's uncle, Rwebiraro, opposed him, and went to a certain lake to find witchcraft which would kill him. When Rwengabo got wind of this, he escaped to Ifumbira in Kinkiizi, with his family. When Rwebiraro heard of the escape, he told Kahaya that Rwengabo should return to Kayonza. His grand-father gave him a part of Kayonza called Rushe, to rule there.⁽⁶⁾ He reigned well and became rich. He married Kyarwasha, daughter of Nyabeya of the Banyabusano clan. His sons were Rwerima, Nyarubabura, Bakabaiha, Rutareka, Rubango, and Muhima (who was not physically his son). He died at Kagara and was buried at Mushorero.

Rwirima (Murera) Rutairuka came to the throne when he was living at Ngirisi. His Ekitoma is still there. The succession was contested by Rutareka. Rwirima escaped to Buganza, which was ruled by Mazima of Kibunda. With that assistance he expelled Rutareka and regained power. Rutareka angrily went to Muhozi in Rujumbura, who cleverly received him well, and accepted that he was the rightful heir to Rwengabo. Rutareka asked Muhozi for soldiers. While Rwirima was at Rutugunda in Kinkiizi, Muhozi asked to meet him. Rwirima heard this and went with his son-in-law Kataribwa (of the Baitira clan) to meet Muhozi. Muhozi put Rutareka's case, and said he was going to arrest Rwirima. It is said that Rutareka had bribed Muhozi. Rwirima and his son-in-law (Kangwomunda) were arrested, and their followers severely beaten and sent home. His servant Kanagwa (of the Bashanzha clan) also stayed with him. Kangwomunda advised Rwirima to escape. Their opportunity came when the entembani (Muhozi's soldiers) were drunk and no-one was looking. Rwirima then instructed Kanagwa to tell Rubango not to bring the ransom cattle demanded by Muhozi, but to take all the property to Rwanda. Rwirima himself went to Kebisoni, where he had Banyabusano uncles. After a fortnight there he went on to Kangabo (where he stayed at Kevigo's house), and from there to Nyamitamba and to Rugyeyo, whence he went to Nyarurembo of Muhingwa of Kahaya. That man gave him an escort to the house of Kinena, son of Bihunyira, son of Bwori. Kinena's sons escorted him to Ishasha, to meet Kingyingo son of Fundikira. When he ultimately reached Kayonza, the people rejoiced.

He told his brother Rubango and his son Nyakarasi to bring all their possessions to him at Mutamba, so that they could all go to Rwanda. All the people who wished to accompany him were allowed to do so. At Mutongyero he left his dependants and cattle, and taking only his brave men proceeded via Nyaiguru to Bukimbiri of Rukara. After crossing lake Mutanda they reached the territory ruled by Bihira son of Muhuruzi, who was well known by the Mwami of Rwanda. They told him that they wanted to go to Enduga but wished to leave their possessions with him. He allowed them to do that, and made them welcome. They reached the palace of Mwami Rwogera who entrusted them to the care of Bihira, who built houses for them at Nchungwe, where they settled. They used to take precious gifts to Enduga. After a year they heard that Muhozi had imposed Rutareka on the Kayonza throne, and Rubango went back to confirm this. He summoned

Kayonza elders and asked them to choose between the two rivals: they all preferred Rwirima, and proposed to fight against Rutareka. Rubango advised his brother in the same sense.

Rubango was allowed by Rwirima to lead the fight. His uncles sent him men and weapons, and after prolonged fighting Rutareka and his family were killed at Rwenzo. Rwirima then prepared to go home, but was prevented by Bihira, who insisted that they go to the Mwami to say farewell a second time. Rwirima refused, and one night escaped with the old children and servants and cattle. Bihira then killed all those who remained behind, and in revenge Rwirima diverted his route so to kill the dependants of Bihira. Then he went home via Bwitsa, to his old palace at Ngirisi. He settled in peace and became very rich. He died young, exhausted by his efforts for his country, and was buried at Mushorero. His younger brother Rubango had already died. Nyakarasi, Rwirima's eldest son, succeeded to the throne.

Nyakarasi II was crowned at Kagara (Iraro). First he restored order to the country. He saved many people and also killed many. From Nyarutoma he settled at Bwitsa, and then at Kyerere in Muregye. He was crucified by the Europeans. The following are his important battles. He fought the people of Rushambya, who rebelled against him. Rushambya belonged to Mushakamba and Bitwagyeki of the Basinga clan. He also fought the Barima of Kinkiizi, to avenge their killing of his brother Kanyampaka son of Nyarubabura. In this battle he killed the brothers Rutono and Shumbusha. The two groups had been very friendly before the war, and so became intensely hostile thereafter, the Kinkiizi people accusing those of Kayonza of unprovoked aggression. Intermarriage therefore dwindled. Other victims of Nyakarasi include Nzhunzha and Kakondo from Buganza which was ruled by Bishobire, and many of Makobore's Bashambo. He also had to quell a rebellion by the people of Ruhambya.

One Rukumbi refused to pay tribute in cattle, and on seven occasions attacked Nyakarasi. On the eighth occasion Nyakarasi killed his sons and fighting men, and negotiations were opened. Rukumbi proposed peace, but Nyakarasi suspected him of plotting revenge, and instead suggested a blood-brotherhood relationship. Nyakarasi's son Muinga, and Makobore's son Rwabambari (sic) became blood brothers, and peace was established.

On one occasion a Belgian captured Nyakarasi and held him to ransom. On payment of a large number of cattle, Nyakarasi was released. The Baganza, however, did not want him to return to rule Kayonza, so they hired soldiers who shot and killed him. Muinga, who thereby succeeded his father, took his revenge by killing large numbers of Banyiginya, including the Mwami himself.⁽⁷⁾ The same Belgian returned to Kayonza to attack Muinga, who took refuge with Makobore in Rujumbura. He entrusted his cattle to Makobore, but when he asked for them to be returned, Makobore refused, lest the Belgian ambush them.⁽⁸⁾ Both parties appealed to the Mugabe of Nkore, where Makobore was up-held ⁽⁹⁾. Muinga then approached the Belgians, who helped him recover the cattle. Many had died however,

and the Belgians pressed Makobore to compensate Muginga for their loss. Muginga, however, declined, arguing that their death was due to no fault of Makobore's.

Some of those who were prominent in these battles were the following: Katengwa, son of Mitana, a Museta, left Kayonza and asked Makobore of Rujumbura to help him fight against Nyakarasi the king of Kayonza. Kagyimbi begged leave of Nyakarasi II to return to Rujumbura, and he was permitted to go with 40 cattle. In Rujumbura he too asked Makobore for assistance to attack Kayonza. He was recognised while scouting, and killed. Makobore then sent Musiryangabo to kill Nyakarasi, for payment of 200 cattle. At Nyakarasi's court he offered his services as a soldier. While Nyakarasi and his courtiers were sunning themselves, he threw a spear at Nyakarasi, missed him, and struck one of the courtiers. He was immediately put to death. Meanwhile Makobore had sent a mixed force of spearmen and musketeers. Nyakarasi's army was led by Ruranzyamanzi, Rutengwa, Buzingiza, Rubaniha, Misare and Muginga's younger brother who killed the Bashambo of Munyonyi. Another leader was Rutagatiira son of Nkonjara, the head of the camp. Another was Rwesiima. Kiniga led Nyakarasi's servants. Makobore was thoroughly defeated. Bashaija, the sons of Karango, and other Bahima lost their lives. There were so many corpses that they could not be buried, hills were covered with teeth, the river Kabindi ran red with blood, and crops could not be harvested because of the stink. The places where large numbers fell were Mburambo, Ruherrera and Kabindi. From Mburambo Makobore fled to Nyamirambi. When the Banamura found him they wanted to kill him, but were restrained by Nyakarasi, who released him and advised him never to return to Kayonza. The advice was reiterated by an old man called Kirinda son of Mukahiziga.⁽¹⁰⁾

Muginga (Byabagambi II) also fought battles, especially against the Baganza who were responsible for his father's death. He was also obliged to suppress a rebellion by Katengwa, son of Mitana, a Museta, who led one of the Kayonza regiments. He was brave but also cruel. He went to Makobore and asked for a regiment to help him kill Muginga. Makobore lent him men with guns, who had come from Mpanzani beyond Karagwe.⁽¹¹⁾ Katengwa fired several houses, but was forced to flee to Rujumbura, where he died.

On the other hand Muginga cemented relations with Nyindo in Bufumbira. His ancestors had taken gifts of ivory to Rwogera and Rwabugiri, and he continued to take such gifts to Nyindo. Both Nyakarasi and Muginga married wives from Gitovu, which made relations easier to maintain. Nyakarasi had also been hostile to devotees of Nyabingi, notably Kachweibaba and Butuyu who were flogged on his orders, and Mukoruringa who was also beaten. Kajapari, who amassed property as a Mugirwa, had his house burned eight times. Every village where Nyabingi was suspected was ravaged.

Muginga became a blood brother of Nyindo, and of Kaijamahe (a Munyiginya from Busanza), and of Rugenzabatwa (son of Hagumakamwe of

Busanza). He loved them for their hospitality, and the friendship developed from exchanges of cattle and aid in times of war. His close friends included Rwabambari son of Makobore, Rwabukiri son of Mafundo (of the Igara ruling family), Miranda son of Rwebabiro (a Mukora from Rujumbura), Buteekama (a Muryangwa from Rujumbura), Rushangwa (a Mwega Muhima from Rujumbura), Semu Mutabazi (son of Nuwa Mbaguta of Nkore), and in Kinkiizi Rukunya's father and Tindiranzu. In Kayonza itself his personal friends included Bakeikubya (a kahwa), Ngabo (a Muyonga), and Rufu, son of Kyehunde.

When the British came to Kigezi, Muringa was confirmed in office, but made a gomborora chief subordinate to the ruler of Kinkiizi. Both were to be advised by a Muganda. When the First World War broke out, Muringa was suspected of aiding Nyindo. Both were captured and taken to exile in Masindi, where they were given a house with a kitchen and toilets. Though prisoners, they were treated like chiefs, continued to draw their salaries, and were also assisted by the Mukama of Bunyoro. They stayed there for ten years and bore children there. When peace had been re-established, they were allowed to return to their posts. Nyindo, however, died at Rutobo on his way back; and Muringa (also known as Ruhwabwoba) was compelled to remain a gomborora chief, rather than being promoted to saza chief, as he had been led to expect.

There was a bad relationship between Muringa and Sulimani the Agent. Sulimani posted Kagashanga, a hard-headed and daring askari, to Kayonza. When Kagashanga embezzled public funds and could not replace them, he burned himself alive in his house. Sulimani and other gomborora chiefs then accused Muringa of burning Kagashanga; but evidence was given by a boy whom Kagashanga had sent out of the house before setting fire to it; and a key to the door was discovered amongst Kagashanga's ashes. The D.C. therefore dismissed the case against Muringa. Then a Christian named Augustine joined Sulimani's faction, and falsely reported that Muringa worshipped Nyabingi. The D.C. came to Kayonza and found no evidence despite a thorough search. The Baganda continued to report against Muringa, and again police were sent to investigate. They discovered some fetishes which children used to wear, including a tube containing a guinea-fowl bone. Muringa was arrested immediately. The D.C. transferred him to Kabale where he could watch Muringa himself. Nine months later he was dismissed and returned to his home. By that time Namunye was the Saza chief in succession to Sulimani, and he also disliked Muringa and reported adversely against him. Eventually the D.C. sacked Muringa. Kageyesa then invited him to settle in Rujumbura with his family and his property. Later the D.C. allowed Muringa's request to return home, where he spent the last five years of his life. By that time Baganda influence was at a low ebb. By that time also I was a Gomborora chief. After five years in that capacity I was transferred to the D.C.'s office to become familiar with administrative and judicial methods and procedures.⁽¹²⁾

Editors Footnote

1. P. Ngologoza, *Kigezi and its People*, p 6, regards the Barengye along the Babanda and Bakongwe, as sub-sections of the BaMwisya. F. Geraud's chapter in the present volume accepts the view that these groups dominated Rwanda before being supplanted by Banyiginya. Geraud's account of the crossing of the lake is marginally different. His interpretation of it however is convincing.
2. Kahaya Kamurari, if this account is correct, must be Kahaya Rutinda-nyenzi, since Geraud points out that the drum Nyakahoza is associated with that ruler. Baitwababo's work (summarised in his chapter in the present volume) would tend to place Kahaya in the early 18th century, a date which may provisionally be accepted.
3. The Bakimbiri, among others, would protest at this interpretation.
4. Objections have been stated by some other contributors to this king-list. Ngologoza. *op. cit.*, p 18, provides the same list of kings in a slightly different order. This is not conclusive, however, since he relied upon the evidence of Mr. Rwankwenda.
5. If (see previous foot-note) the king-list is erroneous, this is presumably its weakest point. Yeye has been omitted altogether, and of Muhayirwa's reign nothing appears to be known. Geraud's king list is as follows: Ndahura, Kubaire, Rwirima, Kamuramuko, Yeye, Kubaire II, Byabagambi, Rwirima II, Rutaruka, Nyakarasi, Muringa. In short, doubts crop up about three generations back from Muringa.
6. This passage is elusive, which is not surprising considering the straits to which Kayonza must have been reduced during the period in question.
7. As this event is not recorded in the Rwanda traditions, and as it would imply a greater military power than we have reason to expect, the account is open to some skepticism.
8. This altercation with Makobore, however, is entirely consistent with Makobore's cattle-complex as described by Baitwababo.
9. Given Rujumbura's claim to equal status with Nkore, it would seem unlikely that Makobore would have submitted to the arbitration of the Mugabe of Nkore in such a dispute.
10. Though Baitwababo points out that Rujumbura did fail to suppress the independence of Kayonza, the details of this passage sound somewhat inflated.
11. The identity of the men from Mpanzani is not clear. By this period, however, there is no doubt that fire-arms were becoming available in this region, from the direction of Karagwe.
12. Strictly speaking Mr. Rwankwenda did not succeed to the hereditary chieftaincy. On the other hand he should be regarded (along with Karagyesa in Rujumbura) as one of the 'new men' whose education is described by Rwandusya, and who were increasingly employed by the British in preference to more 'traditional' authorities such as Muringa and Makobore.

The Rituals of Kingship.

Nyakahoza, the crown-drum, can be re-made only by a king bearing the same name as he who made the previous drum, no matter how dilapidated Nyakahoza becomes. It is made out of a log of the Mushugangoma tree, and can only be constructed by the king's servants, the Bazigaba. The drum-makers first select from their own clan a young virgin boy, who has just cut his second hair for the first time, and whose mother has lost no children. The boy is married to a young virgin girl who has just had her first menstrual cycle. Drum-making begins on the eighth day after their first intercourse.

The king's black-smiths-of the Banyakishegere clan-have by this time made a large and small axe (enshinzho). A white sheep is taken from the clan of the king's maternal uncles, taken to the Mushugangoma tree, and slaughtered there by the Bayundo clan. Its blood is sprayed on the tree to cleanse it (all sheep being regarded as "white" or 'holy'). The boy selected to make the crown-drum is the first to cut the tree with an axe. A large log is cut from it to make Nyakahoza, and a small log for its wife Nyamurihura. When all is ready, a message is sent to the king to send the white bull which he has received from his maternal uncles. This is slaughtered and its skin stretched with wooden pegs (emambo). This heavy labour goes on nightly for a fortnight of moonless nights. None of the drum-makers goes home, nor does anyone have sexual intercourse, though their wives bring them food during the period. The wives do not sleep at night, nor commit adultery. The king meanwhile sends presents of good food to the drum-makers.

On the first day of Nyairurwe (March), immediately after new moon, the drum is shown to the king. On that day he has a great feast. The drum-makers bring the drums to the king and his senior wife, who are seated before their house, together with many smartly dressed guests. The drum-makers come beating other drums made at the same time as Nyakahoza, and they dance and are cheered on by everyone except the king and his wife. The skin of sacrificed sheep is spread upon new chairs made of the 'ekiko' tree, and Nyakahoza and its wife are placed on the chairs very gently, so that Nyakahoza's heart (called the 'baby drum') may remain silent. Then an old Muyundo stands up and brings the king to beat Nyakahoza, while other drums are being played. Near Nyakahoza the king finds a pot of honey beer ('enturire') with a straw. He sucks the beer into the straw and spits it into the front of Nyakahoza. Then the drumming ceases. The king solemnly addresses Nyakahoza: "Keep the country in peace as it was in the time of my ancestors, who produced us to give honour to you Rugaba Nyamuhanga, who gives you and me power to rule this country and its people in peace."

The Basingo give the king a small boy of their clan, as a sacrifice to Nyakahoza. The boy is sacrificed by the king's adviser, while the king says "This is the blood of Basingo. Conquer every people who fight us, defeat

those who rebel against you." While other drums beat very loudly, the king walks round the drum. He then beats it with a stick made of precious materials, given to the first king by Kahaya. He beats Nyakahoza nine times, which is interpreted as meaning 'May we live in peace'. Then the axe made solely of iron is laid upon Nyakahoza. The king takes his seat, whereupon the drumming stops, and men dance while women cheer them on. Nkoko's family of Bayundo cheer on the drum, and then people begin to give presents to Nyakahoza, first the king (who gives a cow and a white sheep which has lost none of its siblings-, then the clan leaders, and then other people. Finally the drums and the gifts are taken to Nyakahoza's newly constructed house, where the drums are laid on a bed while the gifts are stored in the kraal. No fire is ever made in that house, nor is the house ever closed. No female may ever spend the night there, nor is drunkenness permitted. Only the king and his favourites may drink beer there. Nyakahoza is as respected as the king himself, and in all but name it is the head of the country, that which unites and blesses the country, and which kills rebels. After battle it is covered in the limbs of rebels. Presents of crops and cattle are brought annually. Rich men may present cattle in gratitude for the flourishing of their herds. When girls of that clan-the Barengye-marry, one cow from the dowry is brought as a gift.

If the king fell ill, people would say that he was happy: and if he died, they would say he rested. On his death drums (except Nyakahoza and its wife) are turned up-side down. His burial was rather different from that of his subjects: in their case a Muhima was buried in the dung of his cattle, and rams and bulls slaughtered for meat to be eaten during the ceremonies; and a Muiru was buried in his own shamba. In the case of a king, his body was kept in his house, smeared, and carefully tended by his wives and trusted people. No-one would cry or mourn for his death. His body would be wrapped in the hide of one of the slaughtered bulls, in addition to the sheep-skins and bark cloth in which it was first covered. After eight days the corpse is buried. Old people carry it as far as the sitting room. The ceremony is taken over by the man in charge, the Mukaka. He marries a girl for this purpose, and has intercourse with her, witnessed by an old man to ensure that it takes place properly. The Mukaka is a member of the Bakaka Babaziki sub-clan, which shares certain observances with the king, namely they may not eat together, they may not touch each other's hands, and they may not enter king's court. Having had meat and intercourse, the Mukaka adorns himself with leaves and comes shouting that he is going to bury the king. He and his kinsmen-helpers place the corpse in a litter made of flexible plants called 'engozi', which also contains many bark skins, two hides, a sheep-skin, and a bull's hide, all to keep the corpse clean. His men's rams are killed and the drums beat at once. They carry the litter to the hill chosen for the burial. On the hill, houses have been built, and beds placed in them. The corpse is taken into one of the houses and placed on a bed. The Mukaka remains in the house alone with the corpse, and has an axe ('enshinzho') shaped like L, with the handle at right angles to the blade. This axe is forged by the Bakimbiri of Kishegere. The Mukaka then opens the belly of the king; and at that point a young leopard emerges from the stomach. If the king is old, it may be a large

leopard; if young, then a small one. It would escape into the bushes, where other leopards would be noisily awaiting. Everyone runs home, believing that these leopards are pursuing them. (Leopards used to be greatly respected, in the belief that they were really kings: and some people still believe this.) Some people are selected to spend another eight days with the corpse, while others are busy building new houses for the deceased king's family.

Meanwhile the Mukaka would return to his house, attack the girl to whom he was ritually married, and have intercourse with her publicly. He would then run with his people to a place known as 'the place of refuge'. This practice was known as 'kwiragura', meaning 'to be blackened'. The widows of the king would bathe in the river 'kwoga orufu', or 'okusaama', and they would adorn their heads with strings of beads. Cows would be milked without building a fire in their midst. After eight days the whole company would bathe and shave their heads, and have the temporary huts for their homes. Cows would be washed, white-washed, and one selected as a present to the eldest daughter of the late king (kuhaasirira). A regent was appointed for one year, after which a new king would be crowned and new drums made for him. On the coronation hill-Isingiro were distributed things which all had to be new. A hen would be killed, and its butcher would be given a cow. All day the new king was tried with spears, so that he was exhausted by night-fall. As they left the hill drums were beaten, but Nyakahoza was wrapped in carpets and carried home. On reaching home the king sat on the royal stool, and drums were beaten for nearly a whole month, while gifts and congratulations poured in.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chief Katuregye: the Man and his times

by D. Z. Rwabihigi.

Who was Katuregye and how did he come to be? There is no simple answer. Katurgye's ancestry is ambiguous. We learn that Chief Katuregye was born into the BAKONGWE clan of the BAKIGA tribe of present day Kigezi District. His mother is CHANDUNGUTSE; that is to say the daughter of Ndungutse. Her other name was BARAHEBUUZA. She was the daughter of Ndungutse of the BASIGI clan of Rwanda. Ndungutse was the son of KIBIZI the son of SENTEMBWE the son of MUNAABA. She came to Rukiga looking for a husband. She was driven by famine. On arrival in Rukiga she was bought by NGOROYE, the son of MUSEKUURA, a Mukongwe of the BAHORONDORWA lineage. This is the chief lineage of the Bakongwe clan of the Bakiga. It is said that Ngoroye did not appreciate her very much, and therefore decided to give her to his brother RWAMUSHWA who is also known as NYARUYONGA. Rwamushwa was pleased and willingly took her as his wife. Rwamushwa was the son of Musekuura, the son of Rutwa II, the son of Kyobibire, son of Biko, son of Rutwa I, the son of Muhondorwa, son of Kakongwe, son of Karengye, who is dubiously known as the son of Kantu, yet other observers think that he was the son of Katambura the son of Nyabwana. The truth is that none really knows the real father of Karengye the great founder of the huge Barengye clan. It is this Karengye who, probably in the 16th or 17 century came from Burengye in present-day Rwanda. BURENGYE is a small place bordering the Republic of Rwanda. (This may partly explain why the language of the Bakiga is similar to that of the Banyambo of Karagwe and also the Bahaya of Bukoba. Here is a project for future research).

The Bakongwe elders believe that Kakongwe came with his other brothers but did not reach Rukiga proper. Some settled in Buhara and Maziba near the Rwanda border and produced the present clan of the Bataborwa of Maziba. Kakongwe was a hunter so he and his dogs came to Ndorwa and settled at NYAKATARE in Bushuura, in Bubale near Lake Bunyonyi. Kakongwe came with his two sons-Muhondorwa and Sharabuye. These in turn produced sons and daughters, and multiplied. The elders continued that at the time of their arrival the Bungura, Basigi, Bahesi, Bainika and the Basakuru clans had just arrived from Rwanda and had settled on the western side of Lake Bunyonyi in Kishanje. Muhondorwa produced Baringa, Rutwa and Baraziguruka and many unknown daughters. Sharabuya produced other sons, the descendants of whom are the Barenzi, Bajumba, Basindikira and the Bazaana lineages of the Bakongwe clan. The Bazaana were produced by a woman who had been bought by Sharabuya and that is why they are called Bazaana. This lineage now appears to be the largest of the Bakongwe lineages.

As the people multiplied, their land at Nyakatare dwindled and they therefore decided on a military campaign to conquer lands for their offspring. Full-scale attacks were launched against the Basigi, Bahesi, Bainika, Basakuru and the Bungura clans. The Bakongwe did not find it difficult to defeat these clans and confiscate their lands on the western side of the lake. The Basigi moved to Kabaya and others crossed the lake to Bubare and the Basakuru moved from Karuhamba and Rwaseyeza and went to Kishanje kya Mbuzyi ya Muheto. The Bahesi concentrated in Kitagata kya Kurungu, Bumbu, and the Bainika gathered around Mariba ga Nyabyondo, a few miles from Kashaasha. The elders tell us that at the same time the Bazigaba, Barihira, Bahimba and other Bakiga clans were also arriving from Rwanda and her western borders. Why this northward movement or exodus of people from Rwanda was going on it is not clear. Each Kiga clan has its own explanation. Whether we should link this influx of people from Rwanda with the expansionist and unsettled reigns of Mwami Mibambwe I Sekarongoro Mutabazi and his son Yuhi Gahima, I do not know. Certainly there is a need to trace the causes of this northward movement.

As I have already stated, Ngoroye the son of Musekura bought Chandungutse the mother of Katuregye, and Rwamushwa took her for his wife. Rwamushwa then produced MAGYENGYE his eldest son, followed by Bahemuka, followed by Basimiki and Ntwawiha both of them daughters. After that Rwamushwa was made impotent by his father's newly acquired Nyabingi. He stayed in the Endaaro all the time, as he had by then become the chief Mugirwa of this Nyabingi. But Chandungutse was still a young woman of attractive appearance and she was able to attract some courtiers. One of these courtiers who was her lover is a man by the name of RWEBISHAKA, the son of NKOBE, of the Bajumba lineage of the Bakongwe clan. It is this man who, in fact, fathered Katuregye followed by a brother by the name of KIRIBATA and two young sisters by the names of NYANGOMA and TABURYERAHO. Katuregye was not the natural son of Rwamushwa, a Mukongwe by clan and a Mukiga by tribe. Whether this illegitimacy affected his psychologically is not known. The evidence before us is that Katuregye believed himself to be the son of Rwamushwa. This is understandable as in Bakiga custom it is not good to be known as a son or daughter of illegitimate parents.

Katuregye was born in the village of KASHASHA at a hill called NYAKAKABUNGO just at the edge of the Echuya Forest, about 5 miles from the present Uganda-Rwanda border. Kashaasha then was in the centre of the Bakongwe clan's territory which extended far into present Rwanda. The northern boundary of Rwanda Kingdom was not clearly demarcated and it shifted to and fro depending on the strength of the Kings of Rwanda. At one time Rwanda included the whole of Bufumbira and the whole Ndurwa area of the Bakiga people including the whole area west of Lake Bunyonyi, incorporating the whole of Bakongwe territory. In fact King Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, one of the most fascinating and toughest warrior kings of Rwanda, had succeeded in occupying the whole of the present southern Kigezi district up to Mpororo in the north east. However, the occupation was short-lived and because of trouble on his southern border with Burundi,

and the determined effort of the Bakiga, he was forced to give up this Bakiga area altogether, although he absorbed for good the four Bakiga counties which form the present district of Byumba in Rwanda. At the time of Katuregye's birth, possibly around the year 1870, the northern boundary of Rwanda was the Orugyezi (great swamp) at Runaaba near Rusuumo in the present Commune of BUTARO in Rwanda. The ECHANTE kya BA-SAAZA the son of MAHIIRANE was the territory of Bakongwe of the Bahondorwa lineage, while the adjacent RUTOJO was the territory of the Bareenzi lineage. It is MPABANZI the son of MUZAMUZA a Murenzi who moved there first, and that is why Rutojo is popularly known as the territory of Mpabanzi.

I estimate that Katuregye was born around 1870, because it is believed that when the very first Europeans arrived he was about 25 years old. These first Europeans arrived in Rwanda at around the year 1892 when Dr. Baumann arrived in the heart of Burundi by following the Ruvubu river. At the time of Katuregye's birth King Rwabugiri was already on the throne, although his impact on the Bakiga was almost nil as he was still busy extending his Kingdom to the south and south-east. King Mutara II Rwogera (his predecessor) was never very powerful and his territory therefore remained small, especially to the north.

Katuregye was born in an extremely wealthy family. Rwamushwa his legal father was one of the most outstanding Nyabingi priests in the area. His Nyabingi was (and still is) known as NYINABUHHORO and was the most outstanding cult throughout this forest area. It was feared by all including the BATWA themselves. Worshippers from near and far used to travel to Kashaasha to offer their gifts to Rwamushwa the chief Nyabingi priest. Not only was Rwamushwa the chief priest of this Nyabingi, but his son Magyengye and Katuregye's mother Chandungutse all shared in this great priestly power. Katuregye grew up at his father's court in the company of Batwa Worshippers. He used to play and even eat with them. More significant, he was taught, by these Batwa friends, the art of hunting and using the spear and arrows. No one took his hunting lessons very seriously because he was a small weakling whom everybody despised. His small size never impressed anybody but as he grew up his shooting ability and his fierceness became increasingly felt by all observers. He used to accompany the old men in expeditions and there he displayed the heart of a lion. His elder brothers Magyengye and Bahemuka were never as great fighters or as brave as the young Katuregye. It is believed that Nyabingi turned Magyengye into a coward, as it did not want him to become a warrior but rather a chief Mugirwa (priest) of NYINABUHHORO the Nyabingi.

Let us start with the story of Nyabingi which his parents worshipped, as it is the most outstanding contributory factor towards Katuregye's greatness. Katuregye's grandfather MUSEKURA is the beginning of it all. While he was at home at Kashaasha Musekura heard a mysterious voice calling him to listen to a strange story. This voice told him that he and his son NGOROYE were requested by the IMAANA-NYAGASANI (the creator

of all things) to pack up and go to BUHUNDE in the country of the BANYA-BUTUMBI called MUMPIMBI ZA MUGANZA YA RUBUZIBWAMAHANO next to CHANGWE CHA MBIRIBIRI. There they would meet the IMAANA who would change their lives forever. Musekura and his small son Ngoroye did as there told. Those who went were many but only Kabeba the father of NDUURU and RWAMWEZA are remembered. Rusagiza and others like Murusha the son of Ruhamire feared the journey and were left behind.

It is a tough journey through forests teeming with wild animals. There were also wild people all the way, and they narrowly escaped death. They were however lucky and arrived safely. They made bloodbrotherhood with many people there and they explained the purpose of their coming. It is said that they succeeded in speaking to this mysterious voice while they were there. The voice told them to return to their country and that the voice would never part from them. The voice promised to do great things for them and their clansmen left behind. As they were preparing to depart they were attacked by fierce Bahunde who speared Musekura to death while his son Ngoroye miraculously escaped. After many days of hazardous travelling Ngoroye and his friends arrived at Kashaasha where he received a heroic welcome. The tragic death of Musekura was mourned by his brother MAJUNGU and RUSAGIZA and many others.

That mysterious voice which led Musekura on his fateful journey re-exerted itself. It spoke powerfully to Rwamushwa the brother of Ngoroye. It ordered that ENDAARO be built for it and that Rwamushwa was to be the chief priest (MUGIRWA) of this mysterious voice. It declared that it was the god of all things and that it had come to stay in this country which had hitherto known no God. It claimed to have the power of giving life and taking it away. It had power over all natural things. It further ordered that all the people must worship it and threatened that those who did not would be punished severely. The BATWA pygmies were the very first to throw their support behind it, as it had come from their country in Buhunde. The voice was then given the big name of NYINABUHHORO or NYINOMUREMURE. Overnight it turned Rwamushwa into one of the most feared people in Rukiga. This Nyabingi would speak through him very often whenever it wanted to let its intentions and demands be known to the people. This is one version of the origins of Nyabingi in Rukiga.

It is however believed that there are very many Nyabingi spirits, some more powerful than others. The second most powerful Nyabingi spirit to come, slightly later, is that of RUTAGIRAKIJUNA which is the Nyabingi of the sons and grandsons of RUHARA son of RUBUZI of EKYANTE kya Basaaza be Mahiirane. All the elders stated that, while Katuregye was still very young, a mysterious woman, possibly from the country of Bahima, arrived in Rukiga. She was accompanied by hundreds of worshippers and she said that she was looking for a husband who was chosen by God. She ordered that she be taken to KYANTE where she wanted a temporary court. She was accompanied by her very beautiful daughter called KANZANIRA (sometimes called RUTANI KYOBUJUGO, but the elders are not all agreed to this. Some say that Kyobujugo was the sister of Rutagirakijuna

and that she was the real mother of Kanzanira. Here again is a subject for further research).

However it is believed that Kanzanira was the most beautiful woman this country had ever known. Rutagirakijuna was nick-named Rutatangi-rwamumuhanda - Nyamuribatira - ahaiguru. It is said that she was 'Ekyebumbe' who could appear and disappear and could cause anything to happen. All the Bakiga feared to approach her for fear of death or other misfortunes which could easily arise from being associated with such a personality. She was worshipped by many Banyarwanda but not at first by the Bakiga. After some time her fame grew wide and high, spreading like fire until King Rwabugiri Kigeri IV of Rwanda came to learn about it. He ordered his representatives in Bufumbira to investigate.

It was then that BAYIBAYI, the son of BUUKI bwa Muhaabwa, a Mututsi ruler of Bufumbira, marched to Kyante to finish off this new threat to the King of Rwanda. He captured Rutagirakijuna whom he beheaded, and sent her head to NYANZA for the King to see. However, to everybody's surprise her head began to speak, demanding to know why Bayibayi the son of Buuki had killed her. The head ordered that ENDAARO be built for her spirit and that she be worshipped by all people. The main Endaaro was immediately built in Kyante where Kanzanira the daughter of Rutagirakijuna was staying. RUBUZI, one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the local Baheesi of Kyante had decided to marry the charming and beautiful young Kanzanira. With her marriage Rubuzi produced Ruhara who begot MAFENE who produced Ngayabarezi, all of whom became chief priests of this Nyabingi spirit. M. J. Bessell tells us how Mafene met his tragic death at the hands of European Imperialists. He says "During 1912, a chief-priest of Nyabingi named Mafene and known as the king of Ndorwa was captured and killed by a German Officer, Major Godowins, in German territory (Rwanda). He was known to have resided at Kyante-Rutajja". Up to this day these two Nyabingi cults are the most powerful, but one thing is clear - these two Nyabingi cults are not opposed but rather they are complementary and this is demonstrated by the very close friendship between the families of Katuregye's sons with that of the sons of Ruhara. In fact Katuregye's two sisters were married by Rubuzi's family, Ruhara himself married Basimiki and with her they produced Mazimwe and Kavangye. Taburyeraho (another sister of Katuregye) was married by Mafene and they produced Rwatangabo. There is a lot more to be learnt about these two Nyabingi cults.

So Rwamushwa, who is also called Nyaruyonga, was the first real chief priest of Nyabingi (Nyinabuhoro) while Ruara was the first real chief priest of BIHEEKO the Nyabingi which originates from Rutagirakijuna. Towards his end Rwamushwa was made impotent by this Nyabingi, which also told him that he was going to die of a disease called EBIKACA (or smallpox) but that his son Magyenge and his wife Barehebua would take over the priestly duties. To the young Katuregye Nyabingi spoke saying that he would become a warrior and that he would never be defeated, (for the spirit of Nyabingi would guide him in his military campaigns.) Katuregye's young brother Kiribata was promised the power of the arrow and he too became

one of the greatest Bakongwe warriors, challenged only by Katuregye, his elder brother.

Katuregye's bravery was demonstrated when the Bakongwe went to war with the neighbouring Bainika. The cause of this encounter between those two clans was simple. An elephant moved out of the Echuya forest in search of food. It passed through Kashaasha and went as far as Kifurugutu, the country of the Bainika. The Bainika killed it, and the Bakongwe claimed it was theirs, but the Bainika would not hand it over. This incident presented to Katuregye and his Batwa friends the opportunity of pouring their wrath on the Bainika. The campaign was short but bloody and it left many Bainika clansmen dead while it turned Katuregye into a hero overnight. His outstanding performance in this fight made his name known all over Bakiga territory. It is said that none of his arrows missed their work, and his bravery startled even the most famous Batwa fighters, Kiroha the son of Ngurube, and Semandwa the son of Ndebiika. The stage was set for Katuregye's military career.

KATUREGYE'S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS.

Just as the Bakongwe-Bainika fighting broke out a serious famine also visited this area and aggravated the situation. Whilst at first the motives for fighting were merely limited to the acquisition of food, women and pride in following the campaigns, there were other immediate causes. For example the Bainika made a big mistake by stealing Katuregye's cow called NYABWANGU. This act of aggression forced Katuregye to declare war. He called upon his most famous Batwa warriors Semandwa, Mabyigihene, Kanyarwanda, Kiroha, Basebya, Karerabaana, Majegye, (who was nicknamed ECHYANWA KYENZIRABWOBA for his valour and outstanding performance in battle) and hundreds of others. He then called on his Bakongwe clansmen among whom were Nziguyenda, Karwaana, Kinuguri, Rwa-boona, Karyankoko, Muyaari, Runyasi, and Ruturiiba the most famous of them all. Katuregye's aim was to teach the Bainika a lesson that they would never forget.

This campaign was rather short but bloody. Katuregye's onslaught was so total and thorough that the Bainika were left in utter ruin. This campaign saw the death of leading Bainika personalities like Birinda the son of Tamukunzi, and Bihinzoka the son of Bizigati. They also killed Ruhara the son of Mukono and Mabengo the son of Mashenda. Bahinzoka (mentioned above) was so famous among the Bainika that he had been nicknamed Itangaza rya Bizigati. He was shot dead by Bichere the son of Karisa the son of Ruchebure, one of the most outstanding Bakongwe personalities of those days. Katuregye's wars forced many Bainika to flee to Bukinda where they still stay today. Among those who migrated to Bukinda are included Barisigara the son of Mgwagwa, Tabaaro, Bahinzoka, Rutahweire and Nyabyondo. They left their motherland Mariba and Mutungu which the Bakongwe took over, and Katuregye decided to build two of his numerous palaces in these places. From that time onwards the whole of the Bainika territory was incorporated into the widening political dominion

of Katuregye. He had by then assumed the famous name of RUCHUMI-TANA AKASIIMBA KA MUSIGI.

This was the mere beginning. He and his military men now decided to strike against the Bayundo and the Baheesi around Kitagata and Bumbu, the hill overlooking the famous Bakongwe territory of Mugyera gwa Beebwa. Katuregye had nothing to fear in these battles as Nyabingi always indicated to him before-hand how the military operations had to be conducted. Some of his Batwa warriors had just arrived from Bufumbira on the slopes of mount Muhabuura to take part in plundering. They were led by their most famous chief KIROHA who had built his imposing home at KIRINGA. Kiroha was so powerful that he became known as the King of pygmies. The stage was set for a total war against the defenceless Bakiga. The Baheesi were simply too weak to resist and some of their famous men who were killed include Bigabi the son of Maheesi, and Ntengamo the son of Nyirabuhenzire, who was speared to death by the famous KISEKYE (who was nicknamed NYAMURAARA YA RUKANGA.) Bakongwe warriors also killed Bandema the son of Mutabaazi, Rugabo the son of Baryaremba ba Birantana, and Mugina the son of Nyabatwa. Mugina was killed by NDUURU and BIFU-BYEKA two of the outstanding Bakongwe heroes. However, some of these men may have been killed in earlier campaigns, possibly before the coming of Katuregye.

The battles against the Bayundo were not pitched battles, as the Bayundo never put up any meaningful resistance. As a result of these wars the Baheesi were forced to cross the lake and leave Mugyera and Kitagata kya Karungu in Bakongwe hands. The Bayundo hid themselves in the numerous small islets in Lake Bunyonyi where they live to the present day.

By this time Katuregye's power was towering and his territory expanding. He grew a long beard to symbolise his power and wealth. As he emerged from his successful campaigns against the Baheesi and the Bayundo he immediately launched some of his greatest military operations against the Bungura clan at the northern end of his territory. The Bungura were rich and militarily useless. Here was obvious booty which he decided to take without delay. Katuregye called upon his Comrade-in-arms Ruturiiba who had already assumed his praise name of EKYITEZIRIKA KYA MUGYESERA RUGOGOORA, a name he had earned by his outstanding operations against the Banyarwanda of Murushengye near lake Chahafi, as well as the area west of Kyante and Rutojo up to Lake Mweru. Katuregye also called upon his Batwa warriors like Rubondo, Semandwa, Kataryeba, Kiroha, and Kanyarwanda who had just arrived from Mt. Muhabura in Bufumbira, and with all these military giants Katuregye then planned his military strategy. It is said that these operations were some of the bloodiest that Katuregye fought. His famous bow called RUGOTE was used and he brought a good number of servants whose duty was to carry loads of arrows for his use. The engagements were rather protracted as the Bungura were not ready to surrender their great wealth. Some of these engagements were fought in Kishanje Kya Mbuzi Yamuheto and at Rwabahundame where many famous men lost their lives. It is in these wars that MURUSYA the son of Ruhamire, a Mu-

kongwe warrior, distinguished himself. Kilbo the son of Nyaruyonga, one of the most famous Bungura leaders lost his life, and his death is still vividly remembered by many with indignation. Although it is true that the Bungura put up to some resistance, they lost many lives and all of them were forced to cross the lake and flee to the areas around Kabale and beyond, giving up their territory to the Bakongwe and Batwa. Among those who crossed the lake are KYIROGOZA, RUSIBAAZA and MPAMIZO. Happily these Bungura were resettled in their lands by the British colonialists in 1921.

After the campaign against the Bungura it looked as if Katuregye was aiming at creating a vast empire in the hills of Rukiga. He was obviously succeeding where the kings of Rwanda had failed. King Kigeri II Nyamuhesha tried to win over the Bakiga but he failed. Kigeri III Ndabarasa, one of the greatest Rwanda warrior Kings, tried to conquer Rukiga but he too failed, though he conquered a part of Ndorwa. Yuhi IV Gahindiro conquered some parts of Ndorwa as did Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, but none really ruled Rukiga for a long time. At last there had arrived on the scene a new NAPOLEON whose determination was to dominate the Bakiga once and for all. Together with his famous Batwa warriors, and assisted by the famine which was tearing the country into pieces, it looked as if Katuregye was about to create a new independent Kingdom. With such thirst for wealth and fame Katuregye could not rest before all Rukiga had accepted his sovereignty. It was partly for this reason that he decided to cross the southern tail of the lake and conquer all the vast territory inhabited by the Bakongoro, Barihira, Basyaba, Bahurwa, Bagyeri, Banyangabo, Bazi-gaaba of Mwisi, Baramba, Baregyeza and Bahundu of Buhara, and other Bakiga clans of south Kigezi. In these campaigns his military tactics must be admired. His attacks were usually concentrated in the early hours of the morning, but sometimes in the afternoons, taking his adversaries by surprise. The names of those people who lost their lives are not recorded. It is believed that the toll was disastrous. It is however said that the Batwa and Bakongwe fighters had earlier visited the same area and had killed Binugwa, Mbonabwasya, and Babigyenda the son of Bigyega a Mukongoro of Bigaaga in Rubaya. These campaigns were so well fought that almost every Mutwa warrior came back with a praise name depicting his valour and fierceness. This Semandwa was nicknamed Ruyogooza rwa Nde-biika, Rubondo earned that of Enduhuura Abaziiki, whilst Majegye became Echyanwa Kyenzirabwoba, and Kataryeba became Igabuzakubi rya Mutarambirwa.

With the end of the South-Western campaign Katuregye embarked on yet another military operation, perhaps one of his most ambitious. This time he turned on the Basigi of KABAYA and the Basakuru of IREMER. It is said that the Basigi of Kabaya had killed Butama the son of Mugyengye the elder brother of Katuregye. Because of this crime Katuregye decided to teach them a lesson. He crossed Kacereere which was already desolate and entered into Kabaya itself. Immediately his Batwa allies were put into action and completely destroyed the area, grabbing anything they could lay their hands on, especially cattle, honey, food and women. The Basigi who were defeated had to flee to Nyarushanje which is 47 miles

from Kabale on Rukungiri Road in Rukiga county. As if this were not enough the campaign was extended into Iremeera, the territory of the Basakuru. There a similar operation was repeated with similar results. During this campaign Katuregye's eyes were attracted by a young woman by the name of NYINAKITARE and consequently he took her and married her. They produced Kamananga, one of Katuregye's living sons. It is said that she was one of the most beautiful women Katuregye had met in his campaigns.

At the end of this campaign Katuregye's territory had become extremely large and his power had equally grown, over shadowing that of the chiefs of Bufumbira. It appeared as if the Bakiga people who had never been ruled by a single power for long were on the brink of getting one in the person of Katuregye.

This famine appears to be the worst that has ever been suffered by the Bakiga people. It is known as MUSHORONGO, or ORUSHAANGO. It was caused by a severe drought called RWARAMBA and it struck this entire region just before the arrival of Europeans at the turn of this century. The whole of Bufumbira, Ndorwa and some parts of northern Rwanda were all effected. The drought may have lasted for well over three years, and its effects for an even longer period. Famine struck while Katuregye was at the height of his power, and it tended to inflate his ambitions and determination to fight in order to survive without suffering. People died in thousands. Families attacked families and women deserted their husbands and sold themselves to whoever could give them food. Some people experimented by eating soil soaked in water, others tried all types of grass, but worst of all many people practiced cannibalism. Women did not spare their children, and husbands did not hesitate to kill their wives and use them for food. As the food became scarcer many Bakiga families migrated and took refuge in central Rwanda, in parts like Buganza, and beyond in Gisaka. Others went to Mpororo and yet others moved into the present Congo (Kinshasa) in Jjomba and Bwisha Districts. Despite Katuregye's power and wealth many Bakongwe clansmen starved to death and some of them migrated to Buganza in search of food. Katuregye's campaigns assumed the air of battles for food and plenty. This partly explains the fact that Katuregye never set up strong administrative organisations in many areas which he conquered. As long as he got cattle, women, and food he never cared to shoulder the burden of permanent administration. Certainly Katuregye capitalised on this famine. He never experienced hunger, and he never moved from his residence at Kashaasha.

The consequences of this famine were severe for the Bakiga. Some families were forever disrupted. A good number who went to Buganza and Jjomba never returned. In addition the famine gave military-minded people like Katuregye a chance to do their destructive work on Bakiga society. It presented the Batwa with a state of anarchy which is the ideal atmosphere for their military offensives, and indeed they gained very much by this famine. The famine reduced some clans to a mere handful of survivors, like the southernmost Kiga clans which were affected most, and

this factor of clan size has been a great one in the shaping of colonial and post-colonial history of Kigezi. There is certainly a sound case for more research into this famine.

THE COMING OF EUROPEANS, AND KATUREGYE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RULERS OF RWANDA.

The arrival of the first Europeans almost coincided with the end of Mushorongo. This must have been around 1895 or slightly earlier. The first white men to set foot in this region were Germans who were mainly interested in Rwanda. The very first European to set foot into Katuregye's territory was nicknamed MUZUNGU YA RUREMA and is said to have been accompanied by many others. He built tents and carried on southwards never to return. The appearance of white men on the scene was intriguing. Their white appearance and their way of dressing were mysterious. No wonder some people concluded that they were super-natural beings who had come to visit the earth and go back to their mysterious country. To Katuregye their appearance posed a threat to his freedom of action. The Germans made his fears more real by attacking and shooting to death many innocent civilians. Their fire power seemed to be superior to his spears and arrows. It is therefore not surprising that Katuregye did everything possible to make sure that his country did not fall into their hands. Stories had spread from Rwanda that the Bazungu had already penetrated the Kingdom and that they were bent on making friendship with the invincible Kigeri IV Rwabugiri. In 1892 Dr. Baumann arrived in Burundi. Two years later Count Von Gotzen crossed Rwanda from east to west and met Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri at Kageyo on the Congo-Nile ridge in the Kisenyi-Kingogo area, and reached lake Kivu whence he made his way to the Congo River. The expeditions of Ramsay and Von Trotha, Lengheld, Von Bethe and Richard Kandt covered the whole of the Kingdom by the close of the 19th century. It is possible that these men were the first to set foot into Katuregye's territory. They found Rwabugiri busy ravaging the principalities west of Lake Kivu after having successfully carried out a military expedition against King NTARE V of ANKOLE. Rwabugiri died in 1895 in the Kivu area, from EBIKACHA (Smallpox), and his son Rutarindwa took over the vastly expanded Kingdom as Mibambwe IV Rutarindwa. Then in 1896 he was killed in a coup d'etat instigated by Kabare son of Rwakagara who was a royal prince of the Beega clan which had already produced nine Kings for Rwanda and was determined to produce yet another. Kabare was the brother of Rwabugiri's wife called Nyirayuhi V. Kanjogyera, who was the mother of Musinga, one of Rwabugiri's sons whom they wanted to put on the throne. Musinga and his Beega supporters got some tacit support from the Germans and as a result Mwami Rutarindwa was killed and Musinga came to the throne with the dynastic name of Yuhi V. Because of this German support Musinga in 1897 accepted German Suzerainty, and Rwanda became a dependent territory until 1960.

What was chief Katuregye's relationship with the kingdom or Rwanda? During Katuregye's military campaigns Rukiga territory had been divided

into two parts — the whole area comprising the present Bufumbira county, Bufundi, Rubaya, Bahara, Maziba and the areas around Kabale were in the hands of king Rwabugiri. Katuregye's territory west of Lake Bunyonyi was part and parcel of Rwanda kingdom. It must however be accepted that the kings of Rwanda never succeeded in holding Ndorwa for any time. Kigeri III Ndabarasa had attacked it and conquered it, but during the reign of Mibambwe III Mutabazi (his successor) Ndorwa recovered her independence. Mibambwe was defeated by the Bakiga because he was struggling against his brother by the name of Gatarabuhura. Mibambwe took advantage of the defeat inflicted by Burundi and Buha on Bugesera, and incorporated the greater part of that country into his kingdom: His son Yuhi IV Gahindiro made a successful expedition against Ndorwa, and the Bakiga lost their independence once more. This same king was able to consolidate the western borders of the country by making war in Buhunde and against Banyabungo. During the reign of his successor Mutara II Rwogera the Bakiga lived in a semi-independent state and they exploited Rwogera's involvement in the annexation of Gisaka (which had been weakened by its division between the sons of Kimenyi IV Gitura, the contemporary of Mibambwe III). In short Rwabugiri's incursions into Rukiga were only a repetition of a familiar exercise.

Rwabugiri had very strong provincial administrative officers to carry out his will with blind loyalty. In Bufumbira there was Buuki the son of Muhaabwa (or Muyangye as some elders believe). He was succeeded by his sons Bayibayi and Munigankiiko. Bayibayi was killed by order of Rwabugiri for his involvement in the shameful death of Rutagirakijuna, the first Nyabingi of Rwanda. They were titled the Batwale and their provincial territory included the whole of Bufumbira as well as Bufundi, Kyante, Rutojo and the whole area north of Lake Bulera in Rwanda. After Buki's sons came Nyindo and Berabose, King Rwabugiri's son and daughter respectively. Berabose's residence was at a hill called Mabungo in the present Sub-county of Nyarusiiza. After Nyindo, a grandson of King Rwabugiri, by the name of Nyirimbirima, took over. These Batwale had district representatives whose duty included collecting honey and other gifts to be sent to NYANZA, the court of the King. In Bufundi there was Murusya the son of Ruhamire, a Mukongwe warrior, and in Kyante and Rutojo there was Basaaza the son of Mahiirane, another Mukongwe loyalist. These men used to go to Nyanza to see the king face to face. They used to see Nyindo as well and tell him their needs and problems. Katuregye was not one of these officials. He was never a close friend of Rwanda Kings. If anything he was opposed to their territorial ambitions on his territory. He recognised their superior military power and he tried to avoid a quarrel. When he was young he was able to get into contact with Rwanda rulers when he was staying at the court of Muvunandinda, one of the Banyarwanda chiefs. There he learnt a lot about Rwanda and it seems that his experience there shaped his attitudes towards Rwanda. We may ask why Katuregye managed to carry out his raids without authority from Rwanda rulers. The answer lies in the fact that the Rwanda kings were ever willing to subdue the Bakiga and Katuregye was apparently doing so. This was acceptable so long as he did not rebel against the Mwami. Ka-

turegye never declared himself an opponent of Rwanda. He recognised the powers of Nyindo and even paid tribute to the Mwami through Basaaza and Murusya his fellow-clansmen. However, Katuryegye never feared Musinga as he had feared Rwabugiri. Musinga was not particularly powerful and he was never a warrior. He came to the throne through manoeuvre and war. He never mobilised the support of the entire population of Rwanda, especially those on the periphery. This explains why Katuregye, supported by the Batwa warriors, attacked certain areas of Musinga's territory with impunity. He attacked Mushakamba the son of Birangye in Bufumbira, and he succeeded in taking away his cow called MAGANA. He even went beyond and attacked the Bazigaba living the shores of Lake Bulera in present day Rwanda. He fought Murushengye rwa Bihuzo near Lake Chahafi, defeated all the clans living there, and returned with the name of Ruchmitana Akasimba ka Musigi.

In short Katuregye's power was not sanctioned by Rwanda. It was however recognised by Mutwale Nyindo who gave him respect and freedom of action so long as he did not oppose the Mwami openly. Whether Katuregye was content with this undefined role is not clear. The truth remains that he was never on bad terms with the kingdom of Rwanda, neither was he on good terms. His neutral position gave him exactly what he wanted, namely freedom of action in conquering the Bakiga.

KATUREGYE'S LATER MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS.

As Katuregye entered the 20th Century his warlike inclinations tended to worsen. His fierceness and bravery deepened. He was a real lion among his people. His Nyabingi at Kashaasha continued pushing him further into more complicated military engagements. Up to the arrival of British imperialists Katuregye was fighting against the Basigi, Bahimba and other Bakiga south of Kabale. In a lightning move he crossed the lake and overran the unprepared Basigi of Kagarama, who put up some tough resistance for a time, but then gave in. Katuregye's Batwa allies were too strong for the Basigi, who were led by some outstanding personalities like Muterere and Bituura the sons of Mahinga, Mishongo ya Nkoko of Muruhita, and Rwakaraaba and Rwagara the son of Rubyama. The names of those killed on both sides are not available. However, one Musigi warrior is remembered, Bukooko the son of Rubyama. Most of the survivors had to take refuge in Butobere and beyond Kyanamira, Bukinda and Mparo na Kanywero. The present Bakongwe-Basigi antagonism was thus born in blood. After the defeat of the Basigi, Katuregye moved on Kabale and Kikungyere ky'Abatimbo, and the Batwa overran the Batimbo and the Bahurwa clans, both of whom were routed in very few skirmishes. It is said that the warriors captured much booty including women, food and cattle. Katuregye's name had become feared right from Rugyezi in the south to Mparo in the north-east and from Rutojo in the west to Buhara and beyond in the east. By this time he had already assumed his formidable title of MURIMA, demonstrating his unsurpassed military power. Everywhere men and women, young and old all whispered about him as the great one, Karuza ka Nyaruyonga.

Perhaps of all his campaigns none was as thorough, total and destructive afterwards to enjoy the fruits of Pax Britannica. Hundreds of cows and banda. We must examine this battle in detail.

The date is likely to have been between 1905 and 1910. Members of the Kivu Mission of 1910 who passed through Rubanda found that this war had already been fought. The motives for the encounter with the Bahimba are not clear. The Bahimba had hitherto been on good terms with the Bakongwe, and the two clans were so distant that they had no cause for quarrels. Katuregye's aim may therefore have been a sheer trial of strength, and possibly he wanted to have more material benefits as was always the case in his campaigns. It was believed by the Bakongwe that the Bahimba were very rich, especially in cattle and goats. So when Katuregye called on the Batwa and Bakongwe to attack Rubanda the news was received with great joy. Some people must have imagined how rich they were soon going to be. As usual his leading Batwa fighters were with him. These included Semandwa, Kiroha, Rubondo, Basebya the son of Nyirantwari from Rugyeri in Rwanda, Kataryeba, Muragi, Muhoozi, Kaberuka, Rutozi, Mabyigihere, Ngurube, Rwabibi, Mikubanyo, Rwamuhuta, Ndagizi, Mirinzi, Senzoga, Gichamakara, Ndenzi, Mpumuje, Majigiri and Madoogo. Of the Bakongwe I can only mention Karyankoko, Karwana, Kinuguri, Rwabona, and Ruturiiba the greatest military personality under Katuregye. He had of late acquired the praise name of Ekyitezirika Kya Mugyesera Rugogoora. Many Bakongwe elders can today re-tell the whole story of the destruction of Rubanda in this campaign with great vividness and detail. The attacking warriors of Katuregye were very numerous but very well disciplined. Katuregye's famous Rugote (his bow) was in use. He was accompanied by a good number of people to carry his arrows and food. The Bahimba had not been warned and this unpreparedness for war added very heavily to their weakness. The great Rubanda valley was reached towards morning and fighting commenced before dawn. Obviously the Bakongwe/Batwa warriors had every advantage and it is no wonder that they emerged victorious. Although the Bahimba were surprised they were however able to put up tough resistance which lasted for some days. They were never short of brave men and heroes. Their occasional fighting against the Basigi and Basakuru had sharpened their valour to heights almost equivalent to the Bakongwe fighters. Thus these Bahimba had leader as Mr. Ngologoza shows in his *'Kigezi N'Abantu Bamwo'*. They had Ruyooka the son of Maganya ya Nkunda ya Rukamba, reckoned by many observers as one of the greatest military personalities the Bahimba ever produced. They also had Bikaaku the son of Barore, who played a very significant role in defending his clansmen.

The Bakongwe left Rubanda desolate. It is remembered by those who escaped, that those who survived the attack were lucky indeed, as even small children were massacred. It appeared as if it was a war of extermination against a clan which had hitherto been friendly to Katuregye's people. The names of those who perished are not available, but it is known that the Bahimba speared Rusabira, one of the Bakongwe, but then the Bakongwe killed Binyindo one of the leading Bahimba. The Bahimba also

wounded Basebya and Muragi two of the leading Batwa. Those who survived 'escaped' towards Kashambya and Nyakishenyi only returning afterwards to enjoy the fruits of Pax Brittamica. Hundreds of cows and goats were carried back to Kashaasha as a sign of victory. Food, honey, beer and women were all captured and taken home as booty. With the end of this campaign Katuregye stood at the highest point of his power. Literally he was the ruler of the whole Rukiga, having defeated all the Bakiga clans which really mattered. Although he had not by then declared himself the king of Rukiga there is no doubt that he was the outstanding military personality, with his power supported by Nyabingi which all the Bakiga came to fear. It will remain a question, whether Katuregye would have become the first real king of Bakiga, had the British imperialists not arrived.

KATUREGYE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is not known in which year Katuregye came into contact with the British Imperialists. However, from the information available it can be inferred that his was around the year 1909, the year when Captain N. Coote, Captain De Courcy Ireland and Captain Hall arrived in the present district of Kigezi, led by the Muganda administrator and evangelist Yowana Ssebalijja. Captain Coote was heading the Kivu Mission. Ssebalijja was soon followed by Yowana Kitagana another Muganda Catholic evangelist and Rev. Fr. J. Le Tohic of Nyamitanga Mission at Mbarara, in 1911. Kitagana was followed by a Protestant Muganda evangelist in 1912 and his name was Zakaria Balaba who in 1913 settled at Kabira near Rugarama, while Kitagana settled at Rusorooza to the south of Kabale. It is obvious where Katuregye stood in relation to Christianity. He was the son of a Nyabingi chief priest and priestess. His mother, who was still alive, was feared by all because of the power she had acquired through her Nyabingi. Katuregye therefore viewed the coming of Christianity with extreme seriousness and hostility. Yowana Ssebalijja was followed by many preachers, preaching a religion of the European imperialists, with the obvious result that Katuregye identified Christianity with European tricks aimed at the political domination and enslavement of rulers, as had already happened to Mwami Yuhi V Musinga of Rwanda in 1897. In the circumstances the coming of Europeans from the East was to be opposed strongly, as it was a direct threat to his independence. Indeed this was the most serious threat to Katuregye in that these Europeans with their Christian evangelist friends were opposing all that Chief Katuregye believed in and stood for. Thus he believed in freedom to fight against anybody. The imperialists were opposed to inter-clan feuds and were for peace, order and co-operation of all people. The British were opposed to Nyabingi cult and all it stood for, but Katuregye's power and prestige depended on the support his father's Nyabingi had given him. The Europeans were opposed to polygamy, but Katuregye was perhaps the greatest polygamist in the territory. Lastly Katuregye's territory stood between the Germans in Rwanda, the British in the east, and the Belgians in the vicinity of Mount Muhabura to the west. It was therefore proper for Katuregye to conclude, as he did, that

his expanding territory was bound to be 'eaten' by these groups of Europeans. For all these reasons and more Katuregye became involved in a new, challenging situation. The diplomats who negotiated the Uganda-Rwanda-Congo boundary completely ignored the fact that half of Katuregye's territory was handed over to the Germans, leaving the other half to the British. The whole of Mariba, Kyante, Musama and Rutojo were given to Rwanda and only Kashaasha and Kishanje with the rest of south Kigezi were given to the British. Some people believe that the half of Katuregye's territories which was incorporated into Rwanda was in fact given to Magyengye, Katuregye's eldest brother, whose home was in Kyante. However we now know that his was not the case. The imperialists, to be sure, never at any time took cognisance of this fact in deciding the boundary, and in fact the boundary from Rwentobo in the south-East to Kyante in the south-West excluded hundreds of square kilometres of Bakiga territorial lands that were handed over to Rwanda, effecting a permanent division of a tribe. However, as if to compensate the Bakiga for their lost territory, the Europeans robbed the whole of Bufumbira Province from Rwanda and incorporated it into the new Kigezi District. It is easy to see the consequences of this boundary. It was unacceptable to both Katuregye and Mwami Yuhi V Musinga, for having cut across their territories. For Katuregye this was serious as more than half of his Bakongwe clansmen and his Batwa allies were included in Rwanda. As for Bufumbira it was under the overall leadership of Mutwale NYINDO the son of the deceased Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri. Nyindo, although under British rule, still paid allegiance to his step brother, Yuhi V Musinga, who was strained by the resistance of Nyiragahumuza (Muhumuza), a widow of Rwabugiri. She was working her way from Rwentobo westwards towards Kabale where she claimed she was going to organise her supporters for a final push against Mwami Yuhi V Musinga of Rwanda. She wanted her son Bulegyeya to take over the throne of Rwanda and she was busy recruiting Bakiga to join her armies. The story of Nyiragahumuza has been told by other writers in detail and it is not my intention to go into it here. She succeeded in mobilising Bakiga to her cause. Chief Katuregye however never supported her. He suspected her intentions as he suspected other intruders in his territory. Although her presence on the periphery of Katuregye's territory did not directly affect him very much, it seriously complicated a situation which was already confused and enabled him to do anything he liked with impunity. He revived his campaigns against the Basigi and other clans around the lake. This renewed offensive from Kashaasha could not be tolerated by British imperialists who were determined to pacify the whole area, which they were in the process of calling KIGEZI.

THE IKUMBA CONFERENCE OF 1912.

The British had already sent Captain R. E. Critchley Salmonson as the Acting Political Officer of this new rugged area. On 26/10/1912 he called a meeting of all the Baganda chiefs and the influential indigenous leaders and outstanding personalities, to allocate responsibility for governing the country in peace, order and clan reconciliation. The meeting is described by Ssebalijja in a later chapter. One of the first things discussed

was the cessation of hostilities between different clans and peoples. Katuregye was taken a back by this suggestion as it affected him more than anybody else. His fame and position depended on violence, and it is understandable that he left the meeting unconvinced of the need for peace and order. Second the meeting discussed the administrative divisions of the country and the chiefs to be appointed. The aim of the British was to create as many local chiefs as possible. These chiefs would be under the over-all supervision of the Baganda chiefs. Europeans would issue directives to the Baganda who would pass them on to the local chiefs who would enforce the directives. The meeting did not find it difficult to appoint chiefs for the non-Bakiga like Rujumbura and Bufumbira.

The main task of the meeting was to decide the administrative structure of Rukiga which had been under the domination of Katuregye. One would have thought that he would have been confirmed as the ruler, as a full county chief. This was not the case. The territory was too large to be given to one local chief to administer, for fear that the different clans would not accept the leadership of Katuregye, who was their deadly enemy. The Acting Political Officer therefore was forced to limit Katuregye's power by reducing his territory of more than seventy square miles to a mere sub-county of about fifty square kilometres. His new territory was confined to an area west of Lake Bunyonyi in the present sub-counties of Bufundi, Rubaya and Muko. Katuregye was also made junior to Nyindo of Bufumbira, by declaring Bufundi as one of the divisions of Bufumbira. Captain Salmonson, realising the bravery and war-like inclinations of Katuregye and his ignorance of the administrative knowledge that was called for, placed him under the direct, close supervision of Stefano Musoke, an outstanding Muganda Administrator who had come with Yowana Ssebalijja in 1908. Whilst this supervision was logical and proper from the point of view of the British imperialists, to Katuregye it amounted to gross abuse. His territory had been reduced to a tiny gombolola of Kishanje and he was to be supervised as if he were a prisoner. How could anybody expect this man of unlimited ambition to accept the new order?

Captain Salmonson tried in vain to make Rwagara, a Musigi leader of Kagarama, a full county chief for the whole of Rukiga east of Lake Bunyonyi. This proposal was not acceptable to the Bakiga leaders of different clans nor even of the same clan, but obviously the idea was another affront to Katuregye who, everybody agreed, was the outstanding Mukiga personality, and yet a mere sub-county chief.

Most of those who attended left with satisfaction, perhaps with the exception of Nyindo and his sub-county chief, Katuregye. Nyindo was dissatisfied because he had been made to recognise the British rulers while rejecting his former master, the Mwami of Rwanda. As for Katuregye the new order had in effect rejected all that he stood for and he had been turned into an insignificant ruler. It is not surprising that he immediately consulted his Batwa advisors who decided on an all-out offensive against the British imperialists and their Baganda agents in an attempt to re-establish his dominating presence throughout his former territories.

KATUREGYE'S REBELLION AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM

We have seen how the coming of the British and Christianity adversely affected Katuregye. What follows below is the story of Katuregye's rebellion against the new forces of colonialism and foreign domination.

By the end of 1912 the power of Nyiragahumuza had been completely crushed by the British. It should be remembered that Muhumuza's power was based on the Nyabingi cult which was anathema to the British, who equated rebellion and challenge with it. It is no wonder that the British reached the conclusion that the only way of overcoming armed rebellion among the peoples of Kigezi was to eradicate the Nyabingi priests and their followers. They therefore crossed the lake and entered Chief Katuregye's territory near lake Bunyonyi. There was yet another famous Nyabingi called *was* none other than CHANDUNGUTSE or BARAHEBUUZA, chief Katuregye's mother. She was at Kashaasha where a big palace had been built for her. Of late many more Nyabingi spirits had sprung up in this whole forest area. Among these were the famous Nyinomudandi which was centred on the shores of Lake Bunyonyi at Bufundi, and led by a Mukongwe leader called Bamukoonya the son of Karisa the son of Ruchebure. The other was Kahukeiguru, centred in Mugyera gwa Beebwa in Katuregye's territory on a Nyabingi-eradication campaign. The first person to be traced was Nyinabareera, led by Rumaashwa the son of Bariba, a Mugunga, on the shores of Lake Bunyonyi. Bituura the son of Mahiinga at Kagarama Bantimuhuura the son of Kaijuko of Butanda, Bukima the son Ndabeegyera of Kisasa in Karujaanga, Rubaya and others were all outstanding Nyabingi chief priests and were all in for trouble from the British imperialists. In Rwanda the Germans had mounted a similar campaign which cleared chief MAFENE the son of Ruhara rwa Rubuzi. Mafene was shot by a German officer, Major Godwins, in 1912. However his Nyabingi has survived and has been in the hands of his son Ngayabarezi who died only recently. Another outstanding personality to die at the hands of the Germans was Basebya the son of Nyirantwari, a Mutwa warrior and ally of Katuregye. He was caught by the Germans in an ambush in May 1912 and was tried, convicted and executed on the spot. The list of those who were taken into captivity is long and pitiful. It includes Nyiragahumuza and her son Bulegyeya and many other outstanding Bakiga personalities. What is important here, however, is that chief Katuregye's mother herself was captured and taken prisoner to Mbarara. She is said to have died on her way back from detention. Her frightening capture is told in "Kigezi Operations 1914-1917" in Uganda Journal edited by H. B. Thomas.

With all these humiliations against his mother and himself Katuregye could not but take the offensive. His relationship with Stefano Musoke deteriorated sharply. Katuregye became unco-operative and he gave an order to all his subjects around the lake to sink all the canoes so that the Europeans could not cross the lake. The situation was made more complex by the outbreak of the First World War, involving the Germans, the British and the Belgians. The British thought that the Germans were going to take over Kigezi District altogether, as was gauged from the be-

havior of the German Resident in Rwanda, Captain Wintgens. He stirred up a revolt among the people to Bufumbira and Bufundi. Nyindo and his subordinates Katuregye and Birahiira the son of Mpimuye, all rebelled against the British and pledged their support to the Mwami of Rwanda. This rebellion amounted to support for German supremacy in this part of Africa. Kigezi which had for about two years enjoyed a spell of peace was in complete turmoil once more. In his "Kigezi operations 1914-1917" Thomas describes vividly how this conflict between the British and the local chiefs was conducted.

The conflict in Bufumbira is omitted. It was more protracted, and involved such outstanding local military personalities as Nyindo, chiefs Birahiira, Mushakamba, Hagumakamwe, and most important of all the famous NTOCHIBIRI who had just arrived from Buhunde, and who threw his might behind Nyindo in an attempt to defeat the British Imperialists. The tragic consequences of that revolt are only too well known. Mutwale Nyindo was captured in May 1916 together with chief Birahiira, and they were taken into exile where they met their death some years later. On the other hand Ntochibiri escaped and reappeared in the 1917 Nyakishenyi uprising. As for Katuregye he was beyond reach, hidden in the Echuya forest where he was safely guarded by his faithful Batwa allies.

THE FALL OF CHIEF KATUREGYE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Chief Katuregye, encouraged by the heroic resistance of Nyindo, decided to make a last desperate attempt at challenging the Europeans whom he had come to know as militarily superior. It is said that his Nyabingi advised him not to make any more incursions in British territory as his chances were far from good. But Katuregye could not afford to remain hidden in the Echuya forest for long and he decided to renew his campaigns. To everybody's surprise he decided to strike against the sons of Mahiirane, his fellow clansmen, residing in Rutojo. He confiscated their property. This attack on Mahiirane's sons could be said to be the most serious single military miscalculation of his entire life. These sons of Mahiirane called on the British, who were in Bufumbira for the Nyindo rebellion, to come and capture Katuregye. He had by then abandoned his palaces at Kashaasha and Mutuungu and had constructed a new and smaller hiding place in the centre of Echuya the forest where it was hoped he would never be reached. Even there he had not given up hope of one day reconquering his lost territories by his military might. He believed, like the Maji Maji fighters of 1905 in Tanganyika, that the bullets of the British and their supporters would turn into water. Indeed, strangely enough, this was believed by all his followers, especially the Batwa fighters.

When the British heard of his hiding place they immediately mobilised a mixed expedition of Europeans, Arab askaris, Baganda agents and Bakiga porters and askaris. As Katuregye and his supporters made merry and feasted in the centre of the forest their enemies were lying within a stone's throw. The British were fully armed with all sorts of weapons including a maxim gun which had been the terror of Bufumbira for the past year.

What then followed was an unequal military engagement which put Katuregye and his people at a big disadvantage. As the attacking army opened fire the Batwa tried to put up some resistance but the odds were very much against them. Katuregye decided on a heroic end of his career and he called for his great Rugote bow, a bow which had been the cause of thousands of deaths for the last twenty years. Before he inflicted heavy losses on his enemies chief Katuregye was critically shot with a bullet fired by a Mukiga askari whom history has identified as MWEBESA, a Musigi by clan. The bullet pierced his thigh and his Rugote was put out of action once and for all. His supporters hurriedly carried him deeper into the forest. The battle of Kashaasha was over and had inflicted heavy losses on Katuregye's armies, thus ranking as the single military engagement which Katuregye lost. It appeared as if his end was in sight. The bullet wound soon worsened and he had to be moved to a safer place where it was hoped he would recuperate. They moved him to Kyevu near the southern end of Lake Bunyonyi. Thousands of Bakongwe clansmen flocked to Kyevu to pay their last respects to their greatest son. All the local medicinemen could not cure the bullet wound. He passed away in the early months of 1915 and was accorded a heroes burial by his fellow clansmen and their faithful Batwa allies. None of his sons acquired his military personality, and consequently none of his descendants were in a position to continue championing his cause of a completely free territory in which the British imperialists had no place. His detractors were only too happy that a man who had been a nuisance for more than two decades had at last been got rid of. It is not therefore surprising that the Bazungu did not honour any of his sons, like Rutobo, or Ndaatira, or Kamananga, with even a sub-county chieftaincy but instead chose nonentities to take over the new administration. Katuregye's Nyabingi cult however was not destroyed. His brother Magyengye, who was staying in Kyante, managed to escape the wrath of the Germans and continued to serve as the chief priest of Nyinabuhoro until his death some years after, when it was taken over by his sons and nephews up to the present day.

THE OTHER SIDE OF CHIEF KATUREGYE

We have mainly concentrated on Katuregye's public life and paid no attention to his private and social life. We had better therefore examine it in order to make the history of this man complete.

Many elders who knew him well contend that he was a very lively man, with a sense of humour, and full of kindness. Some of the Bainika elders I saw like Matoyo and Majuna believe that Katuregye, though he fought against them did not set up a reign of terror over them. He made bloodbrotherhood with some of them and even built one of his numerous homes in the centre of their territory at Mutungu hill overlooking Maribaga Nyabyondo. Some of the Bainika men went to him for food during the famine of Mushorongo. He even married their daughters, like Bukumi the daughter of Baryaruha the son of Muhagama of Murungu. He married Nyanagaruka from his adversaries the Baheesi, and as we have already seen he married Nyanakitare a daughter of the Basakuru of Muko. His wives are estimated at about forty but only eleven names were available:-

1. Boosha the mother of Daudi Rutobo, Katuregye's eldest son who is still alive.

2. Nyabweza

3. Nyamihanda

4. Nyangire

5. Nyinamafwa

6. Buherero

7. Bakumi

8. Mpongano

9. Nyingaruka

10. Nyiramwaka

11. Nyinakitare, the mother of Kamananga. She was one of the youngest and the most beautiful. Most of them he married just before his death, and therefore they had not as yet produced any children. It is not surprising therefore to note that he produced few children. The following are some of his known sons.

1. Daudi Rutobo

2. Ndaatira

3. Buyongwe

4. Mahenda who went to

5. Mitweyingabo

Kichwamba in Toro.

7. Sulmani Kamananga.

6. Bijogoorwa

8. Katuregye had three brothers:— Magyengye the eldest, Bahemuka the father of Burakari and Rutuma and Rwagara who are still living; and then Kiribata the youngest brother and the father of Mashobe, and Tibamwenda — Rusoro. Kiribata was almost as brave as his brother Katuregye. He too died when he was still very young before he had fully displayed his might.

Katuregye had four sisters who all married into the family of Ruhara, the son of Rubuzi, the famous Muheesi elder of Kyante. These are Basimiki who was married to Ruhara. She is the mother of Manyimwe and Karangye. The others are Taburyeraho the mother of Rwatangabo the son of Mafene. The other two are Nyangoma and Ntawiha. As we have seen, Ruhara was the son of Rubuzi the man who married Kanzasira the daughter of Rutagirakijuna the very first Nyabingi in the Kingdom of Rwanda. It is therefore understandable that those girls were all married into a great Bagirwa family. Mafene the son of Ruhara was at one time so powerful that he became known as king of Ndorwa. Mafene, like Katuregye, never compromised with European imperialism and as a result in 1912 he was captured by a German Officer, Major Godwins who immediately executed him by firing squad. Mafene's death did not in any way weaken his father's Nyabingi's influence as his son Ngayabareze took it over as the new Mugirwa (priest) until recently when he passed away, leaving it in the hands of his living sons.

Those who knew him well tell us that Katuregye had a middle-sized girth, and was rather tall with a very long and imposing beard which covered his chest. His eyes as red as burning fire and full of power, dignity, bravery and fierceness. He died when he was still young, in his forties and before he had realized his great dream of setting up a new Kingdom. His was a tragic death, although one can contend that he died honourably, fighting, and no doubt his fame will live for ever.

CHIEF KATUREGYE IN RETROSPECT.

We should now tackle such thorny questions as, what was his aim in fighting for so long? How important is he in historical terms? Was he a megalomaniac who saw himself as being all important as the new leader of the Bakiga people or was he a great proto-nationalist, a great leader who died battling against the forces of imperial domination and enslavement of Africans?

There are no clear-cut answers, and his fellow clansmen are not agreed on his greatness, let alone his fellow Bakiga tribesmen. One woman was of the opinion that Katuregye should be regarded as the worst enemy of peace and order. "How can such a man be called great since he was only interested in destroying everything and building nothing," she said. However, she added, "He was certainly a great man in terms of fighting and that is all". Another informer told me "How can a great man be that who kills people and destroys all their property? He was not at all great and if anything he was a criminal of the first order." I know many Bakiga people in Kigezi and even beyond hold the same views. But then take the views of the elder who said, "There is no doubt that Murima (Katuregye) was a brave man. He was as brave as a lion and he was always in the forefront of battle and he never lost any battle except the one which finished him. But even then it was because he was taken by surprise, without any proper preparation, that he lost. He had no fear of death as his Nyabingi was always with him. Indeed he is the greatest man that has ever lived in the Rukiga territory". This view is equally valid and it is supported by many friends and foes alike. Many Bakongwe clansmen are of this view and it is not surprising that they always sing of him, especially when they are gathered around a pot of beer. He is popularly known as Karuza, Ka Nyaruyonga Ruchumitana Akasimba Ka Musigi. But not all of them are of this opinion. Katuregye was not friendly to all his clansmen either. Thus he was first a foe of Basaaza the son of Mahirane, as we have seen. At one time his undisputed leadership was tested by NDUURU the son of Kabeba, one of the most formidable Bakongwe medicinemen in Ndorwa. Nduuru's power was almost as great as that of Katuregye except that he was not a military personality of Katuregye's stature. In order to ensure his supremacy in this area chief Katuregye ordered the immediate death of Nduuru. This was done, and thus Katuregye antagonised many Bakongwe clansmen especially those of the Nduuru family. Those who supported him did so either out of fear or because they were promised great things. Katuregye's battles against his fellow tribesmen alienated him and his Bakongwe clansmen, the results of which have been

extremely serious. Up to this day a Mukongwe is an enemy of the Bakiga people, his fellow tribesmen. Because of this hostility very few people have let their daughters be married by the Bakongwe men. This is especially the case with the Bahimba, Basakuru and the clans of South Ndurwa county in Buhara, Kutumba, Kasheregyenyi and Rubaya sub-counties. The result has been that the Bakongwe have always relied on neighbouring Rwanda clans for marriage. Many Bakiga clans refer to the Bakongwe and their Batwa allies as BABISHA, meaning enemies. Indeed to mention that you are a Mukongwe can mean a risk to one's life in many parts of Kigezi and even instant death in some other quarters. The same applies to the Batwa who are even more hated. This explains the present situation whereby a Mutwa may not cross the lake and visit Kabale without risking his life. This situation is changing but very slowly indeed. Complete reconciliation may take many more years unless some concerted efforts are made by Bakiga leaders to learn how to forgive and forget the past. Perhaps the government should undertake research into this antagonism and put it right.

What were the aims of Katuregye after all? Was it to build an independent kingdom, or merely was he interested in enriching himself. These questions are not simple. It should be remembered that Katuregye's rule was based on Nyabingi. It is not clear what this Nyabingi wanted but certainly Katuregye wanted power over others and this power is political. It must be accepted that he lacked the technique of effective administration but otherwise his aim was political. He was aware that a person could easily make himself king, as his fellow-clansmen had done in Kayonza, where Muginga reigned. Muginga's ancestry unfortunately seems to be very confused. His son Rwankwenda gives us the following genealogy. He is Rwankwenda, the son of Muginga (Byabagambi II) the son of Nyakarasi II, the son of Rwirima (Rutairuka), the son of Rwengabo, the son of Byabagambi I, the son of Komuramuko, the son of Karamira, the son of Muhayirwa, the son of Yeye, the son of Nyakarasi I, the son of Ndaruhebera the son of Karengye. However, the Bakongwe elders were unanimous in asserting that Rwankwenda is the son of Muginga, the son of Nyakarasi, the son of Rutairuka, the son of Tabaaro, the son of Kandore, the son of Baraziguruka, the son of Rutwa, the son of Muhandorwa, the son of Kakongwe, the son of Karengye. The elders believe that it is Rutairuka who moved from Kishanje during the famine of Kaitanchakara of long ago. When he reached Kayonza he easily dominated the local people and became their king. One then wonders why Rwankwenda and Paulo Ngologoza give a different genealogy. Should we believe that Ndaruhebera was a brother of Muhondorwa and Sharabye (the well known sons of Kakongwe) or should we hold that Ndaruhebera was the brother of Kakongwe? Perhaps the latter is the case. This is another obvious area for further research so that a reconciliation may be effected between these two accounts. At any rate Katuregye must have known of the Kayonza kingdom.

How then should we evaluate chief Katuregye in light of his resistance against British-Ganda imperialism? The British imperialists regarded him as a negative personality as indeed they regarded all Nyabingi leaders.

They regarded him as a great threat to their survival in Kigezi and they therefore decided on an all out challenge to his power, as they had already done to kings Kabalega and Mwanga and indeed to all other African resisters against imperialism. Katuregye's role in this respect should surely be hailed by all African nationalists who should therefore regard him and all those others who resisted the British rule in Kigezi and Uganda as great men who should be recorded as great proto-nationalists, comparable to the Maji Maji and Mau Mau leaders. Chief Katuregye's name deserves to be given to some of the most prominent roads, schools and hospitals in our great Republic. Katuregye was undoubtedly great. Should we deny him this title of greatness simply because he destroyed and massacred the homes of his fellow tribesmen? As we all know historical greatness does not usually take into account such views otherwise men like Napoleon Bonaparte and Bismarck should never have been called great. Great men in history invariably are great fighters whose actions and decisions did a lot to change the order of the world, whether for worse or for better. In this respect chief Katuregye was great. It is unfortunate that he died before he had achieved his dream of establishing a new independent state which could have been a forward step for the historical and political development of his fellow Bakiga tribesmen. We know that many kingdoms and empires all over the world were born out of conquest and those conquering leaders are considered great because of their heroic deeds. Chief Katuregye was conquering his own tribesmen. We should not forget that the Bakiga people were always a target for conquest by the surrounding kings of Rwanda, Mpororo and Karagwe. In the circumstances Katuregye's conquest of Rukiga was the better alternative and the coming of the Europeans certainly did great harm to the Bakiga people by nipping in the bud the political unity which Katuregye was trying to proclaim. We have already seen how Katuregye's determined resistance against the British intruders was based on sound reasoning. His was a defensive battle against those who had so ignominiously exiled his mother, had robbed him a half of his empire, and at the Ikumba meeting of 1912 ignored greatness by making him a mere Gombolola chief. Katuregye decided to fight because the basis of his power was being threatened. Nyabingi priests and priestesses were being rounded up and forced into exile. Certainly Katuregye's fighting is justifiable in view of the above. It is no use pretending that he was of no good at all. His greatness speaks for itself and he must be remembered as one of the greatest men Kigezi has produced. His fellow Bakongwe clansmen and indeed his Batwa allies all regard him as the greatest warrior Rukiga has produced. They contend that Murima (Katuregye) the son of Nyaruyonga, Karuza ka Nyaruyonga, Ruchumitana Akasiimba ka Musigi Entware ya Abakongwe was a great man and that he shall be remembered for ever.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Some Incidents in Kigezi's History.

by F. Karwemera, assisted by Karaaza and Leo Nyaishokye.

Battles between Bahimba and Bajingwe. The Bahimba and Bajingwe have the same origin, both being descendants of a woman named Mugiri. Hostility originated in a quarrel the two groups had at a wedding feast. A Muhimba, daughter of Mabega, son of Nyamujunga was being married to a man of the Bungura clan. The cows in the bride-groom's bride-price had come from the Bajingwe, so when the Bungura were paying the bride-price they invited the Bajingwe to come with them. When most people were drunk, fighting broke out. The Bahimba assaulted the Bajingwe and Bungura, and drove them out before the ceremony had come to an end. Some time later, some Bahimba took their cattle to graze in an area occupied by the Bajingwe, who were irritated and used the occasion as an opportunity for revenge. The Bajingwe began beating the Bahimba herdsmen, who raised the alarm and summoned their clansmen to assist them. In the resulting confrontation the Bajingwe out-numbered the Bahimba and forced them to retreat. Frequent fighting resulted, and the Bajingwe migrated from Rurengyere to Kaabutungu, opposite Rutenga in the direction of Rubanda.

During these battles Ruyooka distinguished himself. His other name was Mpambaara. He was a Muhimba and lived in Rubanda. He was the son of Maganya, son of Nkunda, son of Rukamba, son of Kihimba, son of Njongwe, son of Rweigara. His mother was Kijobe, daughter of Nturwa, son of Muhoza, a Mukuba by clan. Ruyooka felt like grazing his cattle in Rurengyere, the heart of Bajingwe territory at that time. When he consulted seers (including Nyakairima ka Muzoora, a famous Muzigaba seer), they advised him not to go, as it was very dangerous. The daring Ruyooka paid no heed to seers, and went to Rurengyere to graze his cattle. The Bajingwe, infuriated, dashed out of their homes to kill him. Ruyooka saw the danger and advised his step-brother Ruraahire to take the cattle away as fast as possible. Ruyooka himself took cover behind a bush and ambushed the Bajingwe mob as they stormed past, killing very many of them. The survivors fled home to get reinforcements, including a Muhororo who had once been Ruyooka's father's servant, but who was now ordered to kill Ruyooka. When the Muhororo came face to face with Ruyooka, he begged his pardon and said that he had not known that he was supposed to kill the son of his former master. Ruyooka welcomed him as an ally, but as he advanced against the Bajingwe he was stabbed in the back and killed by the Muhororo.

This incident further inflamed hostilities. On one occasion a Mwongyera went to hunt bush-buck. The Bajingwe, hearing his noise, thought it was one of the frequent attacks of the Bahimba, so they attacked the hunter. The Bahimba were sufficiently annoyed to come down in full force against the Bajingwe, drove them back, and even expelled them from Rubanda. In panic, some Bajingwe fled to Kyencere in Rutenga, and others fled to Kiganda in Nyakishenyi. The Bahimba looted the property of the departed Bajingwe. Curiously, despite these hostilities, the Bahimba and Bajingwe continue to acknowledge their common descent from Mugiri; they do not inter-marry, because of this relationship; and they observe the common taboo of all BaMugiri, namely "enkanda".

Famines. Three major famines are remembered and talked about. They are called a) Kaita ncakaara, b) that which took place during Rwabugiri's invasion of Ndorwa, and c) Rwanya-Kizoba, or Mushoronga, or Rwaranda. Kaita ncakaara was the first in order, and derives its name from its severity.

After an attack by Rwabugiri (described below), Ndorwa was plunged into a period of famine, largely because people went into hiding and did not tend their crops, and also because there was an exceptionally dry season. Massive emigration resulted. Most of the inhabitants of Rubona emigrated. Those who stayed behind included the following: Rwabiizi, a Musigi, son of Baanyanga, and grandfather of Rutuza son of Rwabukara; Rwaheiguru, of Baanyanga, and grandfather of Rutuza son of Rwabukara; Icondo, son of Kateta and Kakwaya, all three are sons of Baanyanga; Icondo, son of Komunda, son of Rugyega, son of Ruhamire, son of Rukungu, also a Musigi. Emigration also occurred from Kiraaro. Those who remained there included Rwamujuni a Muzigaba; and Bashweka, a Musigi, son of Rusasi, grandfather of Paulo Itaazy. In Kabere those who remained included Ngundu, a Musigi (Mutuura), son of Muterere; and Kaaruhogo, a Musigi (Munyonyera), son of Bingwera.

The third famine-Mushoronga, or Rwanya-Kizooba, or Rwaranda followed the Batwa invasion of Ndorwa (described below), because agriculture was neglected as people fled to save their lives and their cattle. The problem was compounded by a three year dry season. So severe was the famine that birds attacked sorghum being carried on people's heads. Some Bakiga emigrated to Kayonza, which was then ruled by Rwakakaiga. After the famine some returned to their original homes, but some remained in Kayonza. The name Mushoronga a line or chain of objects was given to the famine because of the lines of corpses of those who died on the paths looking for food and because of the lines of people still alive, trudging along the paths in search of food. Some people conferred the name Rwanya-Kizooba because of the long spell of sunshine ("eizoba" means sunshine) which continued for three years. Others again gave the name Rwaranda (from "okuranda", to creep) because the famine spread like a bush-fire to most of Ndorwa and even to Ankole and Rwanda. It is believed, incidentally, that the Bakiga originally ate peas, sorghum, yams, beans and other vegetables, and that potatoes were introduced later from Rwanda. The first imported crop was called Kandore, meaning 'let me see' in Kinyarwanda, or Kandeebe in Rukiga. Potatoes were first grown by Bangirana, Kananura and Byanyima, all sons of Rwendana a Muyundo of Bataasya sub-clan.

Rwabugiri, son of Rwogera, was a Mwami of Rwanda (who died in about 1895). He enquired about Ndorwa, whether it was strong and if it had a king, and discovered that it was ruled by a man named Muyombo, who had great status because he was feared as a magician and had a massive following. Rwabugiri decided to invade Ndorwa, capture Muyombo, and bring the region under his own control. Setting out, he passed via Iremera, a place occupied by Basaakuru, and came to Iseesero and eventually to Nyamitooma where Muyombo lived. To disguise his intentions he told Muyombo that he was a poor servant named Ruzingo a name implying that he had suffered from malnutrition - seeking a master. The equally cunning Muyombo suspected mischief and told Rwabugiri that his name was Murema implying that he was stubborn. Sensing Muyombo's cunning and bravery, Rwabugiri gave up and retreated homewards, on his way he burnt down Iremera. From there he travelled to a place called Omu Mpimbi.

Some days later Rwabugiri launched a surprise attack on Muyombo, who was unprepared and fled naked. Rwabugiri killed his wife and looted his property. The campaign carried on for a year, and culminated in an invasion of the area then known as Nyamiringa. Using this as a base, Rwabugiri and his men ravaged the region around lake Bunyonyi. Some Bakiga survivors fled with their property onto the islands while Rwabugiri, satisfied with the cattle he had looted, went on to Kasheregyenyi, intending to pass through Rwene amongst the Banyangabo, and thence through Ntarabana and Kaniga on his way back to Rwanda.

At Ntarabana, however, Rwabugiri was accosted by Mutana son of Rwakairu, a Mushambo Muhima, who told him that he had missed a great many cattle on the island and in Bushonga a place near Bwama. Accordingly the relief of the Bakiga was short-lived and they were suddenly confronted by Rwabugiri's troops. They were determined not to lose their cattle, so they put up a fight for their property. A fierce battle ensued. Bigambwa Omuheesi, father of Rugandama, was killed: so was Maguru son of Matongo, a Musigi. Rwabugiri's men managed to capture some cattle, including a few belonging to Ndabawherize, son of Katabaarwa, from Butumbi (He is the grand-father of Tibiba and Nshengurana who now live in Nyakamu, near Kikungere.) The Bakiga killed Kamanzi, the father-in-law of Rwabugiri. This loss so annoyed Rwabugiri that he turned his anger against Mutana and had him hanged by his soldiers. Thereafter he returned to Rwanda, never to return. Ndorwa was never again invaded by the kings of Rwanda, and Rwabugiri himself died shortly afterwards.

The Batwa (or pygmies) first lived in Kashaasha, where they were ruled by Katuregye (whose career is considered in Mr. Rwabihigi's chapter) who promised to show them where they could loot cattle. On their way they passed through Eiseesero, in order to avoid water, which they dreaded. When they arrived in Kigezi they were led by Rwomukubwe, a Mukongwe (and therefore of Katuregye's clan) who lived near Mugabi. He promised to show them homes where many cattle were owned. They reached Rwabareera and invaded Ihimbi, the home of Bigyemano (nick-named Rutagoma). Bigyemano was the father of Muyogomo and Rwangaza. The Batwa killed

Bigyemano's wife Kariza, daughter of Kanyaihamba, a Muheesi and her daughter, and Ruhara son of Bwesigye, and Ruhara's mother, who was called Nyamubi the daughter of Nyambahe, a Mukongwe.

They then attacked Ruhita, ruled by Baruhire son of Mibuuro. They followed the cattle to Omubirwa where they were hidden. There they found Kibandama, Katwire (nick-named Biteero-bya-Ngoga-Rutagamba), Ntanga-mo, and Rwambibi (nick-named Rukara-rwa-Mukanda, the father of Isaaka Kaakitaahi). These men repulsed the Batwa, Katwire and Rwambibi killing three of them. The Batwa retreated and were pursued by the Bakiga. When they reached aha Kateerero K'engoma (translated as the-place-where-they-sounded-the-drum) in Kagarama, the Batwa were reinforced and turned against the pursuers. They wounded Rusanga son of Banywaine from Butu-mpi, and many others. The Batwa then advanced and captured many cattle which had eluded them in the first phase. Success lent them confidence, and they embarked on regular attacks on Iremera, Rubanda, Kibuga, Mukaranye Muhinda, Kikore, Rwanyena, and Katenga (ruled by Rugari son of Biyenje, a Mwinika) and Buhara. Their attacks covered most of Ndorwa and Rubanda, and even penetrated to Kinaaba. Many refugees fled from Rubanda and Kinaaba to Rwanda and Nyakishenyi, Mpalo and Bugarama (ruled by Kayaabuuki son of Ndahuka, a Mugyeyo).

One of those attacked was Mutambuuka son of Rutoogoogo, son of Ncuuro, a Muheesi. They looted all his cattle and other property, and in the process killed Rwenyonyi son of Buzire, a Muheesi, and Muteeka father of Zefaniya Kikunika, also a Muheesi. Among the captured cattle was Mutambuuka's bull named Rushoko-ngondo. The Batwa took their loot across lake Bunyonyi to Katuregye-except Mutambuuka's bull, which they ate on the way. Those who ate this bull fell ill, which was not surprising in view of Mutambuuka's reputation as a sorcerer. Katuregye feared to lose so many of his men, so he sent a message to Mutambuuka to restore his men to health, and to repossess all his stolen property. At first Mutambuuka suspected that this was a trick to capture and kill him; but Katuregye guaranteed safe passage, by offering to come and enter into blood-brotherhood before Mutambuuka crossed the lake.

When Mutambuuka reached Katuregye's camp, he performed intricate rituals to cleanse the ailing Batwa. Katuregye slaughtered many bulls in his honour. Then the Bafumu and Bagirwa (medicine and spirit-consultants) of Katuregye's camp asked Mutambuuka to give them the hearts and some other organs from the slaughtered bulls. When they reached the gate of Katuregye's enclosure with this meat, an eagle came snatched a piece from one of them, and flew off with it. When it was high in the sky it dropped the meat, but dived and caught it again before it reached the ground. This episode alarmed the Bafumu, and fearing Mutambuuka's powers, they requested Katuregye to return all the property looted from all the Baheesi. In addition, Katuregye compensated Mutambuuka for his lost bull, by giving him one called Kiremwa-ngingo; and Mutambuuka renamed the bull Rushoka-ngondo in memory of the bull that he had lost. From then onwards the Batwa refrained from attacking the Baheesi at

Bukoora. (Further information of Katuregye may be found in Mr. Rwabihigi's chapter: further information on the expansion of the Batwa may be read in P. Mateke, *The struggle for Dominance in Bufumbira, Uganda Journal* 1970, vol 34, part 1.)

The Death of Ntokiibiri has already been described (in Y. Sebalijja's chapter, and in P. Ngologozo, *Kigezi and its People*, and in F. S. Brazier, *The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917, Uganda Journal* 1968, vol 32, part 1.) This section simply adds to, and modifies, the established account of the episode. Ntokiibiri was a Muhunde from Nshaare, who was responsible for organising the incident at Nyakishenyi in 1917. Retreating from Nyakishenyi, he came through Bukimbiri to Ikumba, and his first stop was at the house of Bikaaku, son of Barore, son of Rutabanzibwa, son of Nyamuzira, a Muhimba of the Babogo sub-clan. In order to protect himself Ntokiibiri became a blood-brother of Bikaaku. Ntokiibiri's aim was to ally with the Bakiga so as to drive the Europeans out and re-assert independence. To this end, he went about making blood-brotherhood with people of different clans, hoping to win their support and then to attack Kabale administrative head-quarters.

One night he took some soldiers and his friend Rurenga (son of Kahiandro, a Muzigaba), and went to see Karagama, son of Rwagara, son of Rubyama, a Musigi of Bakungu sub-clan. Rwagara, was one of those who had been appointed chiefs by the Europeans in 1912, and had actually been offered the saza chieftaincy of Ndorwa (which at that time included Rukiga and Rubanda as well.) Rurenga and his friends introduced Ntokiibiri to Rwagara, and Ntokiibiri duly proposed blood-brotherhood with this leading Mukiga. After the blood-brotherhood ritual, Ntokiibiri asked Rwagara to give him soldiers with which to attack Kabale and drive out the Europeans and restore independence. Rwagara, however, was alarmed by the bloody consequences of the abortive revolt at Nyakishenyi, and he was unwilling to give men to Ntokiibiri to fight at Kabale. He offered the excuse that he did not have many fighting men, and he suggested that Ntokiibiri first attack Ikumba. If that proved that Ntokiibiri could easily defeat Europeans, then it would be easy to raise fresh fighting men for an attack to Kabale. Rwagara gave Ntokiibiri a sheep for provision, and the latter set out for Ikumba.

At a place called Kashongati, Ntokiibiri's party stopped to cook their sheep. While they did so, they were found by Bamwoya son of Ndyabawe, and by Mugorora son of Rukara, son of Biryabarema. Bamwoya's father Ndyabawe was a muluka chief of the area, and was committed to the new regime. Bamwoya and Mugorora were aware of Ntokiibiri's intentions, and reported to Nyabawe at Murwa. Anticipating Ndyabawe's attack, Ntokiibiri's party fled to Bikaaku's home at Nyamabaare early the next morning. News of Ntokiibiri's movements was brought to Ndyabawe, and to the wife of the gombolola chief: the chief himself, Taabatiisa, was away conferring with the saza chief, Sebalijja, at Nyarushanje. Ndyabawe and the gombolola chief's wife sent a message to Sebalijja. Ndyabawe was immediately sent home to collect askaris and irregular soldiers for an attack on Ntokiibiri. However, Ndyabawe was a personal friend of Bikaaku, and did not want his friend to be killed in a mass attack. He therefore sent a secret message

to Bikaaku, advising him to send away his family and his cattle, and to throw a feast for Ntokiibiri's party.

During the feast, Ndyabawe and his men appeared, and as Ntokiibiri tried to break through the wall of the house he was shot and wounded by an askari named Bigirwenda. Three of Ntokiibiri's men were killed outright. Ntoki (the familiar name of Ntokiibiri) was seized and bound tightly with ropes while his followers scattered in fear. Ntoki was then tortured to make him reveal the names of his collaborators. In great pain, Ntoki began to mention the names of his blood-brothers and allies. Among those names was that of Bikaaku, but the latter insisted that the allegation was fabricated. Eventually the soldiers decided to kill Ntoki, so they dropped him and attacked him. The final blow was delivered by Bagazonzya, younger brother of Kayumba, a Muhimba by clan. It was not the bullet which killed Ntoki (as has been asserted in other published accounts), but the assault of the soldiers thereafter. Those who were responsible for the killing feared to inform the District Commissioner, since they feared that he would kill them in turn. The true, detailed account was revealed by Rurenga son of Kahi-ndiro. Rurenga had been incriminated by Ntokiibiri, but was saved by his friend Ndyabawe, who testified that Rurenga was loyal to the Europeans and to the new regime.

CHAPTER NINE

Traditional Religion,

By F. Geraud

The Idea of God

To analyse the idea of God, here is a testimony about an ancient cult which provides a clue about the understanding of the divinity. They were offering sacrifices, and after roasting the meat they would gather some of it, put it on leaves (kiko) and bring it to the hut dedicated to the mandwa. Then they would say: "Eat, be satisfied, give to the one who gives to you, and recognize the one who refuses you. Come to me, your ears and eyes, and return to your dwelling, open my eyes so that I may step on a stone and break it." They would take away some meat, not offered to the mandwa, and divide it into three parts. A man would throw up one piece in the air saying: This is for the Creator who created me. Then he would take another piece and say: This is for the giver who gives me life. With the third piece of meat he would say: This is for sun who shows me the way. Sometimes they would take the three pieces of meat together saying: These are yours, they are for the Landlords (Banyinabutaka) Creator Sun, and Giver. Then after the meal they would say: Landlords eat from there, make me see, travel and return, take away from me all my enemies.¹

This text indicates that in the mind of some people there were some polytheistic remnants. God was addressed in the plural "Ba nyina obutaka" and several names were such as Nyamuhanga, Kazooba, Rugaba. On the other hand, in proverbs and expressions God was understood as one and as the only Creator. He was often called Ruhanga, Rutaremwa, Nyamuhanga. The idea of God was focussed on the divine transcendence only, but God's immanence was absent.

If God was not understood as immanent it is because, in the past he might have been somewhat localised. Perhaps this was the original meaning of the name Kazooba (like the sun). Such a nice image might have prevented more speculation. And this lack of immanence in the idea of God was the origin of misunderstanding. Since man was not dependant on God's immanence he was bound to be under "mandwa" dependance. God's transcendence alone could not account for the absolute and dependant character of man, because the notion of God's immanence was missing; the concept of "mandwa" was then a necessity of the mind. The absence of God's immanence and the confusing concept of mandwa brought about misunderstanding on secondary causes and on human free will; this was an obstacle to progress. Man was not understand so much as an independent free being but rather more as a dependent creature whose needs (health, wealth, fertility etc.) were subjected to the whimsical influence of mandwa (ears and

eyes) living in the neighbourhood of mankind. There was a lot of confusion as well about man's free will which could not be clearly understood as an absolute. In short man was not fully recognised in his prerogatives because God was not fully understood as God.

However to have a better understanding of the idea of God in the local traditions it should be seen within an comprehensive view of the universe but it is difficult to rediscover this system in its ancient expression.

Veneration of Ancestors' Memory

The analysis of all the expressions of worship is a major work. We limited our inquiry to a few historical details.

Not all the nine Bacwezi were known in Kigezi but the main ones were quite familiar, such as Murindwa, Mugasha, Ndahura, but they were imports brought in by the Bahima, who strengthened their political power by spreading the cult of some of their famous ancestors. Before the arrival of the Bashambo the Bakiga had their own mandwa, moreover every clan which came into Ndorwa brought in its form of ancestor worship. Here are a few of them. Rubambura, mandwa for hunters. He was a great hunter from the Basigi. His name has power to bring game within the reach of hunters.

Ruhumba, mandwa for warriors. He was a great warrior from the Bagahe clan. His name, Ruhumba ntutu, means that even fruits become rotten where he passed. Here is his genealogy. Ruhumba rwa Mushwaza ga Babungirwe ba Kyamuhangire kya Mbasu (Bagahe) Kasasira (see No. 27 Shambo Tradition) a Muhima from the Bashambo living for a while in Nyarusanje, was a good-hearted fellow. The reason why he became "mandwa" is not yet known but Kasasira is known in Mpororo where his worship is found among the Bairu. Ryangombe, former king of Mpororo Rukiga. According to the legend he was a great hunter but an unlucky gambler. He was killed by a buffalo while hunting and died under a kiko tree. He is worshipped as mandwa for hunters. But Ryangombe is not alone on the slopes of the Muhabura. All his relatives are there with him including his sons: Binego and Nyabirungu; his father Babinga; his wives Kajumba and Karyango; his servants Muzana and Mkonjo; his friends Rutwa Muhima and Munyoro. In Kigezi the cult was mostly found on the Rwanda border but the names of Ryangombe's relatives were known all over Kigezi.

In general the cult of mandwa is conducted in such a way that things used (skins, drum, walking stick, stool, trees) together with songs, gestures, genealogies and offerings are meant to remind people about some features of the dead person. It was a sort of memorial and in the case of Ryangombe and Kitami the cult was conducted a bit like a theatre play.

We are facing the widespread cult of two legitimate rulers (in possession of Murorwa) Ryangombe and Kitami. In both cases after their death the political power went to another clan. After Ryangombe's death, Murorwa held by the Bakimbiri was found to be property of the Baishekatwa

clan. After Kitami's death the drum Murorwa went from the Baishekatwa to the Bashambo. Both rulers died of "accident." Ryangombe was killed by a buffalo while hunting but the story goes on to tell us that all his relatives, except Nkonjo, committed "suicide" after his death. Kitami was killed by a carpenter bee but some people speak of a queen killed by her husband. After their death a cult started. These cults mixed up with "ghost stories" were meant to keep up the memory of unfortunate but lawful rulers. In a society without archives the dispossessed party had no other way but to spread the memory of the legitimate ruler through little secret societies. It was a sort of resistance movement using legendary details to foster the memory of the dead ruler so as to be able, one day, to restore legitimacy of power.

The cult of King Ryangombe was not widely spread in Mpororo, although his name is to be found in children's folksongs. In Rukiga and Mpororo the Baishekatwa were opposed to such a cult, so the cult became more popular in Rwanda than in Rukiga. On the other hand the memory of Ryangombe's relatives was very well kept in Rukiga where we still find among the names of many "mandwa" names such as: Karyango, Kajumba, Rutwa, Munyoro, Muzana, Muhima, Nyabirungu (also called Nyabirunga), all of them known as Ryangombe's relatives. Moreover to find together in one cult spread by secret societies not only Ryangombe but also his wives and friends. This might indicate that all of them might have died in that unfortunate "hunting" party.

Kitami's memory, with the help of the glorious name of Nyabingi, was not widely spread in Ndorwa, Rubanda and Rukiga during the Bashambo period whereas it was well known in Rwanda where the Bashambo rulers could not oppose it. Moreover we find in Mpororo Kitami's name linked up with obscene and ridiculous details. The idea might have been to spoil the growing fame of Queen Kitami whose memory was increasingly popular. Another point worth noticing is that all "Byebumbe" usurpers came with Nyabingi or in the name of Nyabingi.

They must have been coming with the idea of restoring legitimate authority, according to their own views (see Bataye's Bakongwe, Bahunde etc.) Perhaps this is the meaning of our Shambo tradition. Silent about Kahaya and his sons but outspoken enough about the lawful possessor of Murorwa, a new Kitami coming from the Baishekatwa clan. This second Kitami was elected after a religious rite of consultation of "mandwa." She was accepted as the lawful possessor of a new Murorwa. So our Shambo tradition indicates that some Bashambo might not have recognised Kahaya's legitimacy and they sided with the Baishekatwa in the worship of Kitami's ghost. So the Bashambo themselves were deeply divided about Kahaya's legitimacy. There is no doubt, however, that such a political attitude about lawful rulers and about others labelled as "Byebumbe" were inspired by their religious idea concerning life after death. People were convinced that life in a peaceful world was due to the help of a powerful "muzimu" who would ensure a stability and continuity of views — it was the "mandwa" the muzimu concerned with public affairs.

So in the past the worship of mandwa was not only a pious act towards former relatives but also, for some people, the only thing to do in order to prepare restoration of legitimate rule by fostering the spirit of revenge. As time went on the idea of revenge died out, the memory of queen Kitami did not mean anything to new generations. So Nyabingi Kitami became later on Nyabingi wa Nyinarulanda (a place of worship near lake Bunyonyi) Nyabingi wa Mukaiganira (a woman) Nyabingi Biheko (for sterility troubles). These deviations of the Nyabingi cult came to Ndorwa and Rukiga at about the time of the Basigi uprising many years later. Another example of this popular tendency to remember important people's memory is found nowadays with Muhumuza. She died in 1944 but her "muzimu" is the object of some veneration. She is working miracles in the imagination of people looking for an income.²

One might suppose that, in this part of Africa one of the reasons which might explain the rapid success of Christianity is perhaps the decadent stage of all traditional cults.

FOOTNOTES

1. Oral evidence of Birara, in Rukiga.
2. Oral evidence of Magurukare, Kakatunda 1964.

Part Three: Alien Impact.

The alien impact in the early years of the twentieth century has already been fore-shadowed in earlier chapters, where it seemed that the people of Kigezi regarded European administrators and soldiers and missionaries as merely a continuation of a series of natural and human misfortunes. It is believed that the prophet Nyakairima had predicted more substantial changes from the European impact, than from other intrusions; but it is hard to establish whether or not he was widely believed. In the twentieth century the alien impact has obviously been substantial, and the following five chapters help us to measure it.

In chapter ten, Mr. Ndebesa provides a summary of the traditions of the pre-colonial Bakiga in Kinkizi county. The chapter is placed in this part of the book, rather than earlier, because it implies the existence of a Golden Age which is very much part of the consciousness of contemporary Kigezi people. The manners, customs, and relationships which he describes are the ideal of a later generation. It is extremely unlikely that society can ever be as contented, as static, or regulated as the portrait would suggest. The pace of change in the twentieth century made it necessary for people to believe in a quiet period of tranquility in the past. This portrait is exactly the reverse if Mr. Karwemera's chapter eight, in which dramatic events imply constant change and violence. Both Ndebesa and Karwemera are telling the truth, though the whole truth must be large enough to embrace both points of view.

Chapter eleven is an account by the first Muganda administrator to enter Kigezi on behalf of the British authorities the late Yowana Ssebalijja.

His account is coloured by his prejudices, just as everyone else's account tends to be personal. He was both a catechist and an administrator (just as his friend Kitagana was a chief before he became an evangelist); and he naturally believed in the capacity of the Baganda to administer non-Baganda peoples. His account of the Ikumba conference, for example, is probably tailored to exaggerate the virtues of the administrators who took office thereafter. Nevertheless this is the best account we possess, of Kigezi in the early twentieth century. Ssebalijja understood Kigezi society, politics and religion much better than the District Commissioners who were his superior officers, and his prejudices are not disguised.

If chapter eleven is a Ganda view of Kigezi, chapter twelve is a Kiga view of the Baganda. Mr. Bisamunyu, one of the first History graduates of Makerere, and later a member of parliament, brings to his research an intimate knowledge of European history, and a profound respect for documentary sources of evidence. Using these skills he has composed an account of the early colonial impact which is profoundly sympathetic to the British administrators (who wrote the documents) and profoundly hostile to the Baganda subordinate officials (who were used as scape-goats by British administrators in the 1920's). An assessment of the role of Baganda administrators in Kigezi, from 1912 until 1929, would have to take account of both points of view.

In chapter thirteen the editor has relied heavily upon administration reports to try to understand the point of view of the British administrators; and an attempt has been made to construct the racial ideology which influenced administrative opinions of the people they were attempting to govern. British officials, believing that the Batusi and Bahima were immigrant, possibly non-Negro, peoples, were willing to believe that they possessed greater talents than the agricultural peoples. It required a great deal of hard evidence to convince the officials that their pre-conceptions might be erroneous — if indeed they were ever fully persuaded. This belief, combined with the unfortunate first impression made by the Bakiga, and their widespread involvement in Nyabingi cult, long delayed the process of localising the personnel of the administration.

Finally, in chapter fourteen, the relationship between religion and politics is brought to the fore. Father Nicolet wrote this pious obituary of his colleague Yowana Kitagana, soon after the latter's death in 1939. It is, of course, a pious and propagandist work, and no editorial attempt has been made to conceal the purpose of the chapter. Nonetheless it is extremely revealing, not only of Kitagana's determined and saintly character, but also of the period in which he lived. The conflict between Christianity and indigenous beliefs, and then between Catholicism and Protestantism, is clearly adumbrated. It is also clear that Kitagana saw his Christian duty as including an obligation to preach acceptance of the colonial conquest. Ssebalijja's chapter showed the reverse of the coin: the African administrators believed that their official duties included the furtherance of Christianity. Therefore it is hardly surprising that indigenous people equated

Christianity with colonialism; and that when they rejected one, they felt obliged to reject the other — or to accept both, if they accepted one.

In short, these chapters imply that the alien impact was both religious and political; administrative and economic; a total way of life. At first it was difficult for people to pick and choose amongst the new offerings, though later in the colonial period the situation changed somewhat.

Editor.

CHAPTER TEN

KINKIZI COUNTY

THE TRADITIONS OF THE EARLY PEOPLES

By S. B. Ndebese

In the olden days, those people who liked one another used to live together, usually on the same hill. Usually such people liked one another because they belonged to the same clan. The reason for living together was collective defence, offence and revenge. These people chose one person who was considered to be the bravest and wisest to be their leader and they respected him. His role was to settle disputes and to give advice in cases of defence and offence. This leader represented them when making demands or when complaining to the ruler of the area to which the clan belonged.

In choosing the site for the house, the person building chose a place near his neighbours and fellow clan — mates or friends. He made the foundation and then informed his friends, neighbours and clan-mates when he would start the building. In good spirit and with a communal sense, these people came to do the work. If it was not finished they came the following day and finished the work. The young men had to cut the timber mainly from trees called : "enkureiju," "emisinga," "emishambya," "emiringo" and others famous for being straight. There was a room for the owner of the house and his wife, a room for his daughters, a room for boys, and another for goats.

Usually the owner of the home used to call his brothers, or at least his elder brother or his older sons to come and eat at his home. The owner of the home would go to one of his wife's houses and food would be brought to him there. Food was always in plenty so they cooked as much as possible and the food that was left was eaten the following morning. There was always a big calabash of porridge preserved for the master of the home in each wife's house. Only a recognised visitor would be served with this porridge, otherwise there was always a less carefully prepared porridge for every day visitors.

For eating, they used out plates hewed out of wood and raffia and for drinking they used calabashes and vessels made out of split calabashes.

It was expected, that the children respected their parents. Children accepted orders without question. A child could not go away to visit without the permission of the parents nor would an unmarried child join men at a party of beer. Young men could only have a chance to drink when serving their fathers. This was when they could be allowed some sips and they also drank beer when there was a wedding.

The children also used to be given beer as a reward for drawing water and gathering fire wood when their father brewed beer. When a son matured and married he continued to obey the father and his wife behaved respectfully towards the husband's parents as if she was one of their children. She would draw water for them and dig for them, too. This would continue until the son got his share of property. This is when he depended on himself.

The parents ceremoniously opened their son's new home. His mother offered the three fire place stones as a demonstration that her daughter in law was now recognised as a wife to depend on her own. At this ceremony the parents of the son's wife came or sent presents with their representative. If this ceremony did not take place, the parents would not eat anything in their son's home. The son prepared a huge pot of beer which his father offered to the friends and neighbours as a token that his son was mature so that he should be allowed to join beer parties of old, mature people. This would be followed by dancing and tremendous excitement, especially from women.

But even after this ceremony the son would go to cultivate for his father for some days. When he gathered fire wood, he would use one half and give the other to his parents; and when he bought meat, he gave one half to his parents and ate the other half. In case of the first harvest, the wife got some food from the first harvest, cooked it and took it to her parents-in-law. This was a sign of respect. It was also believed, if they did this they would get blessings from the parents-in-law, so that they would produce more in future.

The main food crops were: millet, sorghum, beans, peas, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas and yams. They made porridge from fermented millet and also from sorghum. Beer was made from sorghum and bananas. From sorghum they made beer called "omuramba" and from bananas they made a sweet juice called "eshande" which, if necessary, was made into beer called "rwarwa".

When it was a season for growing or sowing a particular crop, a son had first to sow some crops for the parents before he sowed his own crops. Any son who defied this tradition faced a penalty of, say, giving his parents a goat and a pot of beer. But observance of this tradition by the son could possibly make the parents give him more wives as a sign of gratitude. The parents from the wife's side also gave their daughter and her husband presents when they understood that they observed this tradition.

When the son had the first born, he and his wife formally took the child to his parents (okumurika omwana) and they gave the parents a present before they touched their grandson. The child was later taken to the parents of the wife and the same thing was done.

A young girl was expected to show obedience and respect to her parents, her elder brothers and sisters and other elderly people. She was also ex-

pected to do various activities: (a) to ensure general cleanliness in the home by sweeping the compound and washing various things; (b) to do some work in the garden; (c) to prepare food.

A girl was not allowed to leave her home and go to visit except when she had been given permission by her parents. She was also expected to conduct herself properly and to exhibit a high sense of morals. When, after marriage, a girl was found not a virgin, her husband sent either a fruit or a hoe-handle with a hole in it to her parents to signify that after all their daughter was not a virgin. The significance of this was to disgrace the girl and her parents for failing to look after their daughter. Such a girl never received the usual respect from her parents when she went back to greet them shortly after the marriage.

MARRIAGE

The parents of the boy would engage a person to investigate which girl was enitable. Suitability included beauty, manners, ability to cultivate, hospitableness and the general quality of the girl's family. The person so engaged for this work of looking for a suitable girl was known by the title of "kiriima" or "kishabi" or kigamba-bugyenyi." This person was further charged with the duty of getting into contact with the girl's parents and informing them of his intentions. He would then tell them how many cattle the

girl's family owned. He would then tell them how many cattle the bride-price was reached. The father of the girl would then name a day on which the agreed number of cattle and goats (brideprice) would have to be brought. On the appointed day the parents of the boy would duly deliver their bride-price to the girl's family. The bride-price was not fixed; it ranged from one cow to as many cows as five and several goats or even more than five cows in exceptional cases. In charging bride-price, consideration was given to the wealth of the boy's family.

The cows and goats would be brought on the appointed day and they would be displayed just outside the enclosure of the house of the girl. The relatives and parents of the girl would then determine whether these cows and goats were of a good quality. Having satisfied themselves that the quality was good, they would then admit the cows and goats into enclosure. This was accompanied by jubilation, dancing, singing and recital of poetry by the party of the groom; also the female relatives of the groom who happened to have been married to the relatives of the girl's (bride-to-be) family would join them in this celebration. These women would sing in very high-pitched voice, screaming and exclaiming "Aiiii!!." Thereafter, the bride-to-be would begin to cry, and this would mark the beginning of the real wedding ceremony. The parents of the girl would slaughter a goat (or goats) and prepare other types of food for the guests. Before eating, the party of the groom would first demand gifts (emiizo) to distribute among the girls who came to sing and dance.

Emiizo included a whole leg of the slaughtered goat, a gourd of porridge, millet meal and beer. Having seen the emiizo, the party of the groom would then proceed to eat. They would spend the whole night feasting and praising their girl saying "be comfortable our daughter, we have given you to people who will never make you cultivate or carry fire wood or carry a pot of water." Very early at dawn the girls would resume their singing, telling the bride, "you no longer belong to us, you belong to another people; if your new home turns out to be suitable do stay in it and never discredit it." These words were intended to be a last advice before the bride was handed over.

Very early at dawn there was a ceremony; in this ceremony, a hoe was brought and on it were tied certain articles called "omurembe" and "omuvi-hura." This hoe was held by a brother or half-brother of the groom and behind him would come the cows which had been paid as the dowry. The hoe-carrier would proceed to the house and to the bedroom of the bride's mother. There he would find the brother of the bride kneeling beside the bed; the latter would receive the hoe and this would immediately be followed by dancing and singing by the hoe-carrier. The mother of the bride would then take away that hoe to keep it safely - this same hoe would at a much later stage be given to the bride to use. ,

After the 'hoe-ceremony' the parents would select a number of people to carry the bride and others to escort her to her husband's home. The total number could range from 12 to 30 but among these there were two prominent women with special status. One of these women called Nyinashengye and she was supposed to be carrying a baby as she escorted the bride. The second woman was called Kateeramucuucu. Two small children - a boy and a girl were also selected and their duty was to collect *omutanga*, *eihoza*, and *omurembe*. The boy would carry a mat (which was at that time used as a blanket) for the bride and the girl would go carrying *ekiibo* and *ornutemere* (traditional plate and its cover): these were called *ekitwaro*. Nowadays they have substituted a box for the *ekitwaro*.

Before the bride's departure from her home, it was a traditional to have her cleaned. She was taken to a private place (akin to a bathroom) where her nailswould be trimmed, her hair shaven in traditional patterns and her body washed. After this, she would be returned to the bedroom and in the meantime her father would present a special pot of beer to the groom's party alone. This special offer was known as *ageihingiriro*, meaning that the hour for givnig away the bride is nigh.

Two small children — a boy and a girl — were selected and made to dress in specially made skins. These were then sent to a special place (usually a papyrus swamp) to pluck *omurembe*, *omutanga* and *eihoza*. These were handed over to the bride's parents who would then sit on chairs in readiness to carry out the ceremony. The father and the mother would each get *omurembe*, *omutanga* and *eihoza* and would tie them in several knots, making them into long ropes. The bride's brothers would then enter the bedroom where the bride was and would tie these ropes around her waist; they

would then bring her and place her on the lap of her father first and then on that of her mother. The latter would untie the ropes and take them to her own bedroom and keep these ropes at the edge of her bed. The keeping of these ropes was called 'okushutamira omwana' - a wish that the bride might produce children.

After the above ceremony, the bride's brothers would accompany her to the entrance of the house but she would still be inside the house. A mat would be hung on the entrance, acting as a curtain. The bride's father-in-law would then touch her head with omusya (a shrub) and thereafter he and his party would start dancing and singing. One of the bride's brothers would carry the bride on his shoulders from the house up to the entrance of the house-enclosure; at this point the bride was requested to break a small stick. Thereafter another young man took over the duty of carrying the bride but the relieved brother would continue as an escort. Those chosen for the purpose of carrying the bride would begin their duty and since they were many they would take turns.

Those carrying the bride would eventually decide to have a rest when they felt very tired. They would place a mat on the ground for the bride to sit on. After resting, the journey would resume but the Nyinashengye would have to pluck grass exactly from the place where the bride had been sitting. The reason behind this ceremony was to safeguard the bride against charmers and magicians. The collected grass was taken up to the husband's home and brought and on it were tied certain articles "omurembe" and "omwi-placed in the bedroom prepared for the bride and left there in a basket. Upon arrival at the groom's home, a chair was placed in a bedroom and the groom together with his companions would urinate on that chair. After this ceremony, a pot of beer was presented to the bride's escort—this pot of beer was called 'enyungu yobwinamuriro'. The next ceremony was the most difficult of all: the nyinashengye would first undress the bride, leaving her completely naked. The bride's brothers then would begin to lift the bride by force in the attempt to make her sit on the chair which was full of urine. The bride would resist and would be assisted by Nyinashengye and one or two other women. In the course of the struggle, the groom would place his hands in the urine on the chair, waiting impatiently for the bride to be brought to the chair — the whole aim of the groom at this time is to touch the bride's body. In case the groom was only a young, inexperienced boy, he was given somebody to stay by his side and encourage him. The bride was finally overcome and forced to sit on the groom's hands which are all the time in the urine. This would be followed by dancing and singing by the victorious groom and his colleagues. The groom would then leave the room and go out still dancing and rejoicing; everybody else, except the bride's aunt and the bride herself, would also leave the room. The aunt would start to re-dress the bride; she would enclose her in a skin and would tie very strong ropes around her waist. The aunt would fasten these ropes very tight because her intention was to make it difficult for the groom to reach the bride's body at bedtime — it was the responsibility of the groom to struggle hard to untie all the ropes while it was also the duty of the bride to resist.

After the first union of the married couple, the groom's family choose two small children, a boy and a girl and would give each one of them a gourd for collecting water — this gourd was called ehwera. The two children were sent to collect water from a well but were given strict instructions not to look behind while on their way to the well. The bridegroom and the bride would in the meantime sit at the entrance of the bedroom with their legs stretched. The two children would then hand the gourd of water to the groom; the latter would splash water on the bride and then would hand over the ehwera to her aunt. The aunt would pass over the same ehwera to the bride and the latter would likewise splash water on the groom. In fact the bride would throw the whole ehwera on the groom and if the latter was wise he would hit it so that it fell back on the bride. Thus, the bride, the groom and the aunt would all be wet. After all this, the bride was taken back to the bedroom and the groom would go out. Next the party of the bride would go into the house of the groom's mother to make an official entrance for the bride. Armed with pangas, the party of the bride would cut an entrance to the bride's mother-in-law's house, and this entrance, known as ejuuri, was to be used by the bride while entering or leaving the house. After making the entrance, the bride was led to that ejuuri and made to pass through it with the following words, "here is your ejuuri which we have made for you." The next formality was for the relatives of the groom to take out of the house the spears and walking sticks of the guests and to smear the heads of the spears with a little butter. Hereafter, the guests got hold of their spears and walking sticks and set off back to their homes. On the way they would go smearing themselves with butter. On their journey home, the men would go collecting fire wood while women would go plucking a little grass: all these were handed over to the bride's mother upon arrival. The bride's father would then bring beer and food to give to them, congratulating them for the work they had done and after eating and drinking each one of them would go home.

After the departure of the bride's party, the relatives of the groom would bring 'oburo b'wobucundura' (a special type of millet). The groom was given the grinding stone and he began to grind this millet. Similar instruments were given to the bride and she too began to do alike. The flour which was obtained was then made into a very thick porridge (enkombe). The groom would serve the bride and vice-versa, but the bride would not empty her cup; she would leave some for the girls around. The next event is for the groom to join the bride in the bed. But before doing so, he will have to pay a fine (consisting of either jewellery or beads) to his parents in case he had ever annoyed them. After paying the fine (if he is to pay any), he is then given permission by his parents to join the bride. The groom's sisters would then take the bride into the bedroom where she would be joined by the groom himself. The couple would start wrestling but the groom's intention all this time would be to untie the bride's loin cloth after which they would unite. After this ceremony, food would be brought but the bride would refuse to feed herself, implying that someone around should feed her. The husband would then give her a hoe or another present as a supplication that she should start eating. The rest of the time, the new wife started making a basket known as nyabyaramiro: this was started

and completed the same day. After a period of days at her husband, she would return to her father's to do what was called 'okumara amajuta' (literally, to complete butter). But in case father was very far away she would go to one of her father's clansmen in the neighbourhood to do this ceremony. The ceremony of 'okumara amajuta' was as follows: the husband would carry the rope used for tying the wife's loincloth (or skin) and he would go to the place where the ceremony is to take place (say) to the clansman of the wife. He would take this rope to the edge of the bed belonging to the master of the house and leave this rope there; (the husband) would, in addition, urinate in that bedroom. Thick porridge was then made for the husband and his companions and after drinking they would go home. The wife was then declared a housewife but she was still confined in her home where she did domestic duties. She is at this juncture omwari (literally, one who is hibernating). Some of the domestic duties assigned to her were cooking, sweeping and plucking grass. She would also smear herself with red mud so as to make her skin brown. Her mother-in-law would supply her with butter for the skin, and there was always a sister-in-law to stay by her side so as to familiarize her with her duties and family routines. In case she found herself without a sister-in-law, she would have to do it alone unaided.

This period of okwarama (honeymoon) used to last about three to four months within which time newly married wife was given great respect by members of her new family and she also treated them with as much respect and awe. She, for example, would never call her father-in-law and mother-in-law by their proper names: this was a gesture of respect. The end of the okwarama period was marked with a ceremony, held at the wife's parents. The father of the wife would send a message to the effect that time was ripe for his daughter to end okwarama. The messengers who conveyed the message to the family of the husband would take with them things like beer and meat. After giving these things and after conveying the message, then the husband, the wife and relatives of the husband would begin their journey to the wife's father to 'okwaruka.'

Okwaruka was a very important event. The 'omwari' (that is, new wife) would first make herself clean and tidy in preparation to return to her home for okwaruka. When leaving her husband's house she would cover her face with a skin so that no one should see her face; she would be accompanied by her sister-in-law. When she came near to her father's home she would begin to cry quietly and then the members of the family would all rush out to welcome her with great joy. She would enter her father's house, greet her father and mother and other relatives and thereafter she would uncover her face for everyone to see; she would start going out to see everybody around and greeting the people. The husband and his companions would also greet everybody. The whole company would start celebrating with beer-drinking and eating until the next morning.

The next day, the mother of the wife would smear her daughter with butter and would clean her skin so as to make her look extremely beautiful. The whole company would begin to get out of the house to escort the husband

and his wife on their return journey — they would start singing and rejoicing. Then the husband was tipped and so was one of his companions known as 'evgaragwa'; also the husband's father was tipped. Finally the wife was tipped with a goat or cow. This cow or goat was ceremoniously presented by the wife's father and the wife together with her husband would come dancing and touching it as a sign of acceptance and gratitude. All these tips were taken to the husband's home for the purpose of supporting their family. Any other person who felt he wanted to tip them was also free to do so - things brought included beads, ornaments and jewellery. After all this business the wife, the husband and the whole company were escorted on their journey back.

Before the wife and husband would begin their journey back home, the wife's mother would fix the hoe in its handle and hand it over to her daughter saying, "go and start cultivating."

In those days the people going to get married never used to know each other whatsoever until after marriage: the whole affair was handled by parents. Sometimes the girl would discover (when it was already too late) that her husband was a cripple or very old, and vice-versa. But such things were tolerated.

There was a tendency for the parents of a girl to be more concerned about what they would get in return for giving away their daughter than they were about the actual happiness of their daughter. This explains why boys were fond of marrying more women at a later stage if they came to discover that the one given to them by parents was not to their liking. But the housewives of the olden days were very humble and obedient to their husbands and fathers-in-law. For example, she would never call her father-in-law by his proper name: she would always refer to him as 'Tatazaara' (father of my husband); she would also refer to her mother-in-law as Mazzara (mother of my husband); she would refer to her oldest sister-in-law as 'muramu wangye'. All these titles were meant to underline the respect she had.

Abateguzi were a special group of people who played the role of messengers and receptionists just before the marriage took place. Their duty was to carry a message from the girl's parents to the boy's parents to the effect that the latter should come to arrange the marriage. Upon arrival at the boy's home, these messengers or receptionists were given a whole goat to kill, cook and eat unaided. They could, if they so wished, give some little meat to the family but if they did not want to, they were at liberty to eat the goat alone.

After payment of the dowry the bride-to-be would start staying indoors, making a basket known as *kanyantwarire* which would, after marriage be used to store millet, which was given to the bride. Before millet was brought in this basket, the bride was not expected to do any job whatsoever. After millet was presented to her in *kanyantwarire*, her father-in-law would then permit her to begin doing certain duties such as making fire, cooking, etc.

She would also grind some of the millet brought in kanyantwarire, make a meal out of it and give her father-in-law and mother-in-law to eat.

After the marriage, it was believed that if the bride committed adultery should be incapable of child-bearing. So it was her duty to avoid adultery at this early stage. However, it was believed that committing adultery with one of the people who urinated on the chair would not have such adverse effects. When she gave birth to the child, she was not expected to commit adultery before the baby had grown teeth. So adultery was discouraged as much as possible and a faithful wife was always held in esteem.

The wife who gave birth to twins was treated with special rites. The people who helped in the process of labour were not allowed to go back to their homes until a witch doctor was called to the scene to give them protective medicine. People were not allowed to say directly that so and so has given birth to twins: they could only say that so and so has been "saved from two heads" and even this was not said in the open or in public places. But people could begin speaking about it after the father of the twins had been called upon to announce that "my wife has given birth to twins." Then he would proceed to call the witch doctor to come and treat those who had helped in the child birth itself. Before the arrival of the witch doctor, they were not supposed to move out or speak or eat and the gate of the enclosure was supposed to remain closed. The witch doctor would then arrive with his medicine which he would sprinkle all over the place; in and around the house and on all the domestic animals. He would then go into the bedroom where everybody would be seated including the mother of the twins; he would likewise sprinkle medicine in that bedroom and on all the occupants. He would carry out other functions and rituals to purify everybody. He would then give permission to everybody to eat and drink and life would return to normal. Message was then sent to the wife's father and he would duly send two of his sons to go and see the family and twins and to express good wishes.

Death and Burial Ceremonies

Whenever a person died, the members of his family would shave their hair as a sign of mourning and his neighbours would spend at least four days without cultivating as a gesture of sympathy. When the head of a household died and had been buried, the following rituals were carried out: a neighbouring woman who had lost a husband some time back would lead the eldest widow of the deceased man and they would both go behind the enclosure. They would fetch a splinter of an oak tree and then the widowed woman would urinate on that oak tree and would wear her skin up-side-down. The two women would then return to the house. Next, they would make a bonfire right in the middle of the compound, get hold of a he-goat or he-sheep and slaughter it. Before slaughtering them they would tie their testicles and they would eventually roast them and eat them there and then. The meaning behind was that they were clean of any sins. After four days, the neighbours would resume their normal duties but the

relatives would spend some more days staying with the family of the deceased to comfort and help them.

Traditional Dressing

The dress for men was a skin; the rich man would wear two skins. However, the whole idea of dressing was not to conceal their sexual parts — as a matter of fact they never cared whether their sexual parts were exposed or not.

People of long ago were good cultivators; they would go to their gardens very early at about seven o'clock in the morning and would work until about six o'clock in the evening. They never used to eat hot or warm food but would reserve it until the following day so that it may cool down. Men used to wear beads, and leg ornaments. Women used to wear ekishato, which was made out of three skins, carefully knitted together. There was always a tailor who was rewarded for joining the three skins into ekishato. The skins were joined with strings known as enrirondorondo or ernirya (from a slaughtered goat). The wife of a wealthy man would normally possess three ebishato (plural of ekishato) so that she might use one for daily work, the others for attending important occasions such as weddings or functions.

These bishatu and enpu were smeared with butter and smoked with smoke from certain selected trees that gave good smelling smoke: these trees were called emigaju. Smearing and smoking skins and ebishato was an exclusive duty for women. So it was the duty of every woman to look after her husband's skin.

For sleeping: they would place a few poles on the floor of the house, and on their top they would spread grass and then a mat. The husband and wife would sleep on that same mat and cover themselves, first with another mat and on top of it a skin (well smoked and clean).

Women would wear beads on their necks and ornaments on their arms and legs. The ekishato for unmarried girls consisted of two skins only but they would also cover their shoulders with one skin. They were also expected to keep their bishato very well cared for and some daughters of wealthy men would own more than one kishato. Girls were not expected to smoke their bishato; smearing them with butter was usually enough. Small girls would wear just a skin.

In the olden days, a girl who did not care about her smartness and cleanliness would often end up by getting no husband, so was a girl who disobeyed her parents. A girl was expected to remain at home helping in domestic matters and if she wanted to visit another female friend she would ask her parents' permission. No girl would claim to have the right to make her own decisions.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Memories of Rukiga and other places

by Yowana Ssebalijja

While I was a catechist in Ankole the Omugabe appointed me Sabaddu chief in Bunyaruguru, and in that capacity I organised roads and built bridges over rivers. The Saza chief was Kasigano. The Omugabe informed me that the Governor would pass through the area, and instructed me to clear the roads and rest houses. Kasigano appointed me to do these tasks. As I was working a European police officer whom the Baganda nicknamed Kiribata came to supervise the work. We did it together. He did one house and I another. We built the Kichwamba and Rutoro rest houses by plaiting reeds in the best possible manner. While we were still there the Omugabe, his Prime Minister, and the Saza chiefs arrived to meet the Governor. They waited two days until he arrived. He said that he had come to determine the border of the country with that of the Belgians. He asked Kasigano where he would go, but Kasigano gave no answer. During the night Kasigano ran and fled to Kazinga. The Governor instructed the Omugabe to find someone to look after the country, and the Omugabe selected me for the purpose. The gombolola chiefs who were there already were Abdulla Muwanika and Machacha.

I acted as county chief for a month and a half until Kabarimi was sent there. Shortly afterwards I went to Kamukuzi, asked for leave, and returned to Buganda leaving Kibaya acting in my place as Ssabaddu. When I returned from leave I found that my post had been filled, and the Omugabe promised me another chieftainship. Without delay he appointed me deputy to Rurakwa Mutuba I in Mukwenda county. Before I set off, I was selected as chief in Kajara, I went there with the Omugabe, the District Commissioner and other Europeans, the Prime Minister, Zakaria Kibeyerere, Adamu M. Kidibye and Nuwa Kakungulu. In Kajara, Rwabaganga was entrusted to me, Rugarama to Kibeyerere, and Majembe to Kidibye. After a short while we were given full chieftainships. Kibeyerere became Mumyuka with headquarters at Lubingo, I became Ssabaddu with headquarters at Karama, Kakungulu became Ssabagabo, and Kidibye became Ssabawali. Soon afterwards the D.C. came and found fault with the Saza chief Rugarama and Kambona and Lwamumbaya, and he took them to Mbarara. The Omugabe and the D.C. appointed me acting Saza chief.

While I was acting as Saza chief, European surveyors came from Toro and asked me to take them to Kahotora hill in the land of the Bakiga. I had never been there. I accompanied them to the Rukiga hills. From the river Mugeru to the top of the hill was an hour's journey. We stayed at the top of the hill while people were down below. I tried to buy milk but it

was unobtainable, so I bought a milk goat from a Muhima Byambara, and thereby produced milk for the Europeans' tea. In that area many people were living in the valley with plenty of cattle, but they were fearful because the Germans plundered their cattle and goats whenever they came there. The people mistook us for Germans and hid their cattle and goats. Later on however I walked among them and found a man named Rwambuka who had a well established homestead. I spoke with him amiably, and presented to him black cotton cloth (kaniki) and beads and red copper rings. The rings and beads were considered very dignified apparel in that country.

Next morning Rwambuka called on me and brought vessels of milk which I gave to the servants to cook. Eventually we found that it had all gone bad, owing to the custom of adding fresh milk to the old, without cleaning the vessels. I told him that if he was going to give us milk he would have to wash the vessels first, and bring the morning's milk, not the milk from the previous evening. I then gave him a piece of American cloth. He returned a few days later, bringing me more milk, which proved to be good. I took him and the milk to the Europeans, who told me that the man had become our friend, and also gave him a piece of American cloth. For the two months of our stay there he kept us supplied with milk. I sent for some European potatoes which I had planted in Kajara. Half of them I gave to my masters, and another part I gave to some Belgians, none of whom had anything to eat.

In the end the work was complete and we left. The Europeans went away and I returned to my post in Kajara. A few days later I received a letter from the Omugabe instructing me to go quickly to the boundary of Kajara and Rwampara at Kinyamugera, to meet Europeans. I went swiftly and found the Europeans staying with chief Semei Mubiazalwa the deputy Mukwenda of Rwampara county. When we arrived at Kagomba rest house (the site of Kasujju's saza headquarters) Mr. N. Coote asked me to take him where I had taken the surveyors. I agreed. There were five Europeans. Mubiazalwa bade farewell in order to go home, but the Europeans required him to go as well, as he had already visited the country.

Next morning we set off, and spent that night at Kahomero. Then we entered Rukiga, and Mr. Coote told me to stay there to purchase food and forward it to them. They spent a short time there and then returned. The Belgians held two of our askaris, one of them named Alekano who now lives in Luwanga. Afterwards they released them. The officers went away, and I returned to Kajara.

On my return, Mr. Coote and the Prime Minister arrived. Mr. Coote told me that he wanted me to continue the work we had been engaged in with Mubiazalwa. Leaving Kagamba we spent the night at Kakomero, and the following morning Mr. Coote instructed me to stay there in order to supply them with food. I went on for a short distance and built a house at Nyarusanje near the rivulet Kyerezi or Kisenyi. He left me with the means of purchasing food: 5 bolts of American sheeting, 4 bags of beads and 10 bags of copper rings. The people of Ankole sent me bags of millet, dried bananas

and beans. 50 Banyankole porters carried to Kumba, and the people of Kumba carried it to Rwanda (sic. Bufumbira) where our soldiers were stationed. At the end of each month I reported to Mr. Coote, who gave me a letter authorising the issue of money in Mbarara to pay for the food. Each month 4000 rupees were dispatched for this payment. My people fetched it from Mbarara, guarding it carefully lest it be stolen. I then distributed the money without keeping any back. The Lord protected me from stealing, and no one ever accused me of misallocation. The work lasted three years.

My people and I ate millet, dried bananas and peas. Peas were eaten instead of food. Whenever I received meat in the absence of millet and dried bananas, we ate meat mixed with peas. When I discovered that we would be spending some time in that place I asked my master's permission to cultivate potatoes, and he allowed me to do so. I sent for sweet potato leaves from Kajara, and planted them. Eight months later I dug them up again and found the tubers to be still the same size, so I ate them as they were. I also planted simsim which did not germinate, mayuni (a kind of tuber) which yielded tubers, sugar cane, balugu (another kind of tuber), gonja bananas, kyetutumula (like balugu), but they all took a long time to produce crops. I then sent for millet from Kajara, which flourished. Millet and all the other crops were unknown in this country. I also planted coffee trees: the local people remarked that I must lack things to plant, since I was even planting trees from my own country! I also planted mipera fruit trees and nsambya. Bananas were greatly attenuated, taking three years to appear above the surface. I planted them in November.

The area of Kumba was placed under my jurisdiction, to try cases and to supervise. I spent fifteen days at Kumba and fifteen at Nyarusanje. I was instructed to try cases brought to me by Bakiga. There were many cases involving cheating. The court fee was one hoe. To dispose of some of the goods collected, Mr. Coote instructed me to give them to well-disposed Bakiga. After a while I moved from my river site to establish headquarters at Nyarusanje. I built mud houses and continued to plant orange trees, lemon trees and pepper which flourished satisfactorily. The headquarters did not lack a church. It was my duty to travel everywhere, visiting Rukiga, Kinizi, Kayonza, Rujumbura, Kasigano's area at Kazinga and Rusenyi. I tried cases, and held meetings wherever I went.

At Nyarusanje I was told of a woman named Mukeganira, who was possessed by a wonderful Nyabingi (goddess or evil spirit), and who lived in Kafunzo village. I found her, arrested her, and seized 20 cattle and some goats which I forwarded to my master. I informed him that she made people throw off their obedience to us. He imprisoned her for a year in Mbarara, and confiscated her property. The Bakiga said that I would not live, having arrested Nyabingi! A few days later I was informed of another woman, named Kanziga, also possessed of Nyabingi. I found her at home performing incantations. When her men saw me they quickly reported to her, but I also moved quickly and found her casting spells. Ikirago mat had been placed on the door leading to an inner room, and she was thrusting iron rods at people in the outer room, through holes in the wall. The people clapped their

hands and exclaimed "Kasinge", meaning Long Live. I found her in the inner room, holding two rods. I gave her three strokes and took her outside. When night fell she repeated her incantations in the room where I had placed her under guard, and she was whispering to the soldiers "My brothers, have you come to see me? I ordered her to keep quiet. Next morning I took her to Nyarusanje, where I kept her for a few days before sending her on to my master, who sent her to Prison in Mbarara. The country remained reasonably calm, with all the Bakiga fearing me and wondering who I was, that I did not fear the risk of being killed by Nyabingi! They themselves were extremely fearful of Nyabingi, believing that it caused diseases among those who refused to accept its authority and gave presents to it. They called it Butatina-mirego.

On 30th October, 1910 Mr. Coote's tour ended, and he handed over to Mr. Gakes. Mr. Coote was indescribably kind, and I would see many people surrounding his house just for the opportunity to talk to him. During Mr. Gake's period of office no great harm occurred, and I continued my regular practice of visiting around the country-side.

During June 1911 he left, leaving Captain Reid in his place. A few days later Captain Reid sent me a letter informing me of a woman called Muhumuza, possessed by Nyabingi, who had come from German territory and settled at Rutobo hill in our area. When I reached Rutobo I found many people who had come to see her, but she had fled and found refuge with Kisiribombo (a prominent chief on the Ankole-Rwanda border), Makobore (the ruler of Rujumbura) and others. Subsequently she sought refuge in German territory, but was arrested and sent to Bukoba, and her property was confiscated. She was released after two years in prison.

Finding her absent, I reported to my master that she had fled. When she was released she returned for a few days at Rutobo, and went on to Bukinda. Soon she went to the home of Kikere at Mwisi, on the other side of Butobere hill. There she settled and sent message to the Bakiga, informing them that she was their master, and instructing them to come and see her. Banyarwanda and Batwa accompanied her, as well as some Bakiga who believed her claims. From there she went to a man called Mulebya at Mwisi, and sent for Mutambuka of the Bawesi clan, who had 400 followers and lived on Bukola hill on the opposite side of lake Bunyonyi. Mutambuka refused to call her, and sent a message to Captain Reid in Rwanda (i.e. Bufumbira) asking him to come and help him fight the woman. The Captain instructed to go to Mutambuka and see the woman referred to.

I set off with a large army of Bakiga, and met Muhumuza at Mulebya's house. I pitched my tent, and just as it was being pitched Muhumuza's army came forward to fight! At that moment my master's letter arrived instructing me not to fight! He pointed out that Muhumuza might have been living in German territory, and ordered me to retire. Muhumuza's army addressed us: "You chicken-eaters, how would you fight Muhumuza?" I was much annoyed. I sent a message to my master asking permission to fight Muhumuza, but received a second letter from him forbidding me

to fight. I departed, and they shouted after us "What did we tell you before?" When they saw that I had departed they attacked Mutambuka, killing five of his people while Mutambuka's people killed three of them. Mutambuka was defeated, his cattle and goats were taken, his house burned down, and he himself obliged to flee to lake Bunyonyi.

Muhumuza left Mulebya's home and travelled to Rwagara's village, Kitozo on Ihanga hill. She summoned Rwagara to come to her, threatening to kill him and his men if he refused. She sharpened two sticks. Referring to one stick she said "When you capture Ssebalijja do not kill him but bring him to me and I will impale him so that his followers will understand that I am queen of them all. The second stick is for Rwagara if he refused to come to me". Rwagara fled with 1,000 people to Kumba, where he found my deputy Yonasani Basajjabalaba and reported to him. Basajjabalaba wrote to Captain Reid, sending a copy to me, and we both came to Kumba. I brought 15 rifles, and the Captain brought 50 and a cannon. He suggested that we send for a second cannon, from the officers on the border, but I advised him that one cannon and 65 rifles would suffice. Three of us crossed the Hamulwa river in front of Kumba, and went to Nyabingi hill, where we detected from afar that Muhumuza was at home. We planned to attack. The Captain would attack from one side of the hill, I from another, and Effendi Marijani would close the remaining side.

There was a remarkable tumult and bustle on Ihunga hill where Muhumuza was. People were blowing horns and playing and jumping. They said that Muhumuza would turn the rifles to water, and that every Mukiga who failed to support her would suffer. We were near her camp. At dawn Captain Reid discharged two shots from his cannon, as planned, and they raised a great alarm, wondering in which direction to run. Captain Reid left the cannon and came down to his soldiers, who fired several volleys into Muhumuza's enclosure. The people broke down the enclosure and ran towards me. I opened fire on them and they fled towards Effendi Marijani. He opened fire and they fled towards Captain Reid. When they realised that the battle was critical, they put Muhumuza in a skin litter and carried her. The Captain ordered the men to fire at the legs of the porters, and the litter duly fell on the men carrying it. The battle was won and Muhumuza was captured.

Muhumuza herself was slightly injured by a bullet in her foot. Many unknown Bakiga were killed in the battle. The surviving Bakiga said that tree-stumps were broken, and spear-shafts were reddened with blood. We set fire to all the houses. We buried about forty corpses in one deep grave. On our side one man was mortally wounded, while attempting to plunder a house. Other wounded men were carried on people's heads to hospital, but some died before arrival and were buried at the side of the road. The Bakiga on our side doubted the utility of carrying enemy wounded on their heads. They killed them and threw them down and moved on.

We took Muhumuza away. In her litter she had a very young child, sitting cross-legged around a milk vessel. We took Muhumuza to our fort,

where she remained for a few days before being sent to Kampala where she still lives. She had a son named Ndungutse, who fled and was never found. She was a native of Rwanda, and is said to have been a wife of Mwami Kigeri. The Baganda call her Nnabbere. She came telling lies to the people, who believed her and followed her. That is why people of so many different tribes followed her, including Banyarwanda, Batwa, Bakiga and Bahororo. She fought anyone who refused to join her. She was also feared for her sorcery. After her arrest the country became calm, and there was no major rebellion. Other, less famous sorcerers were also at work. Any who were caught had to be punished severely.

Regrettably an askari was killed while carrying a letter from the border surveyors to Captain Reid. On his way he met some Bakiga drinking mulamba beer, joined them, became drunk and fell asleep, whereupon they killed him. The Europeans, when they enquired, were informed that he had been killed despite begging for mercy. One of the Europeans tried in vain to find the place where the askari had been killed. He seized and confiscated 700 goats. Captain Reid informed me of what had happened and instructed me to investigate. I found one Mukiga, named Buwozi, who said that he knew the area of the Baruhira, and that he had married his wife from that area. I asked him to tell the Baruhira to surrender the askari's rifle unless they wanted Ssebalijja to come. He went and returned the next morning with the rifle. Then I set out for Bukola hill, and pitched my tent at Mutambuka's home. I instructed Buwozi to go again and tell the people to surrender the accessories of the rifle. He went and returned with the local chief and fifty of his followers, as well as the accessories. I set up a council of enquiry into the askari's death. The people told me that the askari had been killed, not by themselves, but by others, and that they had merely brought the accessories when requested to do so. I had fifteen rifles, some soldiers of the King's African Rifles, and many followers. While I was asking questions the witnesses stampeded away. An askari opened fire and hit two men, while Sudi Mulangira speared one. I sent the rifle and the accessories to the surveyors, and reported personally to my master.

Shortly afterwards we received information of the rebellion of chief Munginga of Kayonza near the Belgian border. Captain Reid and I launched a military campaign. When Munginga heard us coming he fled and hid in the big forests. That country is exceedingly hilly and is densely forested. Apes, gorillas, monkeys and pigs scarcely permit cultivation. People in that area smear nsogasoga (castor oil) over themselves.

Thence we went to Ruhayana's area in Kinkiizi. Ruhayana had reputation as a rain-maker, and in a dry season people would bring him a hoe, a cow, a goat and a small basket of millet, or some other present, and ask him to make rain for them. Even Makobore who ruled the country sent presents to Ruhayana whenever it was particularly dry. The people did not understand about wet and dry seasons. When Ruhayana promised rain, it did not fall at once but only when its time had come anyway, but the people nevertheless believed that he was the owner of the rain. Up to

the present some people continue to consult Ruhayana's sons when the weather becomes dry.

From there we toured Butumbi (Lwanga). The country is open and full of herds of buffalo and various kinds of buck (nsunu and nangaazi), and many lions. Captain Reid encountered a buffalo with a young calf. He killed the mother and we caught the calf. We used to feed it with milk. When it had grown a little we sent it to Entebbe. After travelling up to Kazinga we returned via Rujumbura to Nyarusanje, where I stayed while Captain Reid went on to Bufumbira.

Captain Reid's tour of duty ended on 20th March 1912, and he was succeeded by Mr. Salmonson. After a short stay in Nyarusanje he passed through the lower region of Bufumbira to Kayonza, and thence followed the same route as Captain Reid and myself. On 26th April I also left Nyarusanje to meet him. I found no rest house in Rujumbura, and therefore built one at Buchenche hill. When I had been there for a few days Yakobo Malokwenza called to see me on his way to join the Major Seminary. As soon as the rest house was finished, at 2 p.m. on 12th May Mr. Salmonson arrived, and arranged for a council meeting. There were plenty of cases and we worked until 9 p.m. Next morning we resumed at 9 a.m., and with a break for lunch we worked until 7 p.m. when we gave up. We spent the night of the 14th at Nyarusanje. I remained there and Mr. Salmonson went on to Bufumbira. As I had to tour Kumba and Kabale, I instructed Yonasani Basajjabalaba and Auguste Muddembuga to go and establish headquarters in Kabale, which I had simply visited but which had no quarters at that time.

On 3rd June I set off to tour Nyabadoki area, known as Rushenyi, and stayed with Omuyima Byambara at Kakamba. The next night I stayed with a Muhima, Mazinio. The following night I stayed at the home of Rwakakaiga in Kayonza, whose wife was a Nyabingi medium. When he heard of my coming he stayed but arranged for his wife to go away. Many people gathered and complained to me that Rwakakaiga had misappropriated their cattle. He had a good explanation, pointing out that the cattle had been misappropriated by a German in punishment for rebellion. Rwakakaiga had not rebelled, but performed services for the German, who had therefore given some of the cattle to him. I considered that it was impossible to re-open a matter decided by the Europeans, and therefore no claim against Rwakakaiga was upheld.

The areas of Kakamba and Rukoma are inhabited by Bahororo. Kayonza (in Rukiga, but not to be confused with the other place called Kayonza) contains two tribes, namely Bakiga and Bahororo. On June 7th I crossed the high hills and descended to the home of a Mukiga named Kindagaire at Nakagabagaba. The following day I travelled on to Mpalo, and stayed with Binugwa. I spent two days there and important Bakiga elders met me there. On June 10th I continued to Kabale. Wherever I spent the night I always met councils, complainants and defendants, some of whom accompanied me to the next place where another party in the case might be

found. My main purpose was to dissuade people from rebelling, and to persuade them to obey instructions. The elders I mentioned were from all the clans. Each one believed he was risking his life in coming to see me, and some even asked their relatives for property as compensation, to be left to the children! This information is corroborated by Bakiga elders.

The Bakiga selected Banyonyoza as their leader, to represent them to me. He used to demand presents from them, but when they refused they would come straight to me. Rutawomborwa, Kasaku and Bwema used to give him presents. Those who came to represent their clansmen I appointed full chiefs. That was the origin of the present chiefly system, as no man ever ruled his fellow men in traditional Rukiga.

Captain Salmonson arrived in Kabale three days later and convened a council. He announced that in future Kigezi would be divided into saza and gombolola areas. He departed on the 16th, for Kumba. He mentioned his preference for Kabale as a town site. The following day he reached Kumba, and sent 6 soldiers to me, with instructions to attack the Banagabo. The leader of the Banagabo — Rubungo — was heading a rebellion. That night we planned and prepared for the journey, repaired and oiled our rifles and checked the ammunition. I overlooked a cartridge in my rifle, and accidentally fired a bullet, but no damage was caused!

Before dawn the following day we set out, and at dawn we came close to them. We discovered that they had been alerted and had all fled to Belgian territory nearby, taking their live-stock with them. This was the site of Butare gombolola headquarters. I stayed there and at about 2 p.m. I began to interview people. I gave beads to those who came, telling them to inform their fellows to go home, as I bore them no ill-will. Accordingly they went home one by one. I instructed them to tell Rubungo to come. He was not to run away, as I was going to wait until he returned, and would wait longer than he could hold out in the bush. As I was sitting down I was informed that he was coming, with his son Busekwire. We gathered our property around us in case he had come to fight. Eventually he came upon us, and I gladly received him well and encouraged him. I gave him beads, and told him to stop his rebellion, as an old man like him should not bring misery upon himself.

While I was there I built certain shabby buildings in which I lived. I told Rubungo that my houses should not be destroyed unless he rebelled again. I then went to Kabale and reported in detail to my master. There now remained only one rebel, Rwantare, who was powerless to force a battle, and could only refuse to come to see me and do his duty. His rebellion was confined to his own home only.

On July 7th I left Kabale and stayed at Mpalo, where I thought it worth a stone marks the old German and Belgian borders). The river Nnozi flows into a very large river where papyrus grows, and which is called Sindi, while to establish headquarters for administration in the small valley between these hills — Kalambo, Rujendwa, Kikuba, Kamugamba (where

on whose opposite bank is Nyakarambi. I spent two days there and left impressed by the beauty of the place. I spent the night at Kitanga.

On July 9th I met there the following Bakiga elders:— Rutawomborwa, Kasaku, Bwema and Banyonyoza. Many people came to see me, and I gave them beads and copper rings. The following are the elders I found in Mpalo:— Basasa, Nnamutale, Kagurusi, Binugwa, Nyakahemuka, Ndyabageruka, Bakainaga, Kibuye and Rusaki. In the Katanga area the river Sindi forms a lake, and has a waterfall called Ibanga.

On July 11th I spent the night at Kichuchwe in Mabone's home and from there I took the road to Buzeru and Kabuga, and reached Nyarusanje. When I had settled at Nyarusanje Bakiga came there to attend meetings from Kitanga, Mpalo, Kumba, Bachundura, Kinkiizi and Kamwezi.

On October 26th Captain Salmonson instructed me, Makobore and Bakiga elders to go to Bufumbira, where a meeting was convened. At that meeting Rukiga was divided into saza and gombolola administrative units. Those present were Captain Salmonson, D. M. Combie, myself, Abdulla Namunye, Stephano Musoke, Yonasani Basajjabalaba, Rwambuka, Makobore, Nyindo, Rwagara, Musakamba, Hagomakamwe and Mizerero. Captain Salmonson made the following announcements:—

1. Nyindo to be chief of all Bufumbira as far as lake Ngezi.
 2. Not many chiefs are needed: Musakamba, Mizerero and Hagomakamwe should take charge of their areas as before, subordinate to nyindo.
 3. Stefano Musoke should be in Katuregye's area, also subordinate to Nyindo.
 4. Abdulla Namunye, as Agent, should educate Nyindo in his governmental duties.
 5. Rwagara to become saza chief of the area including Kabale, Kumba and Butare.
 6. A native of the region should be found to become saza chief of the area including Shoko, Rugarama and Nyakishenyi.
 7. Yonasani Basajjabalaba to become gombolola chief of Bukinda.
 8. Kinkiizi to continue to be ruled by Ruhayana, with an Agent to assist him.
 9. Kayonza to continue to be ruled by Muringa, supervised by Ruhayana.
 10. Makobore to continue as chief of Rujumbura, assisted by an Agent.
 11. Ssebalijja to be in charge of the whole area including Kabale, Kumba, Butare, Shoko, Rugarama, Nyakishenyi, Kinkiizi, Kayonza, Rujumbura, and Buyanja, and matters arising in these parts to be referred to him. At his Kabale headquarters he will appoint people to perform duties in Kabale. Whenever he is on tour, people in the area where he is touring should be selected to carry his baggage.
- Mr D. M. Combie has come to take over the post of D.C. Captain Salmonson then bade us farewell.

When it came to the turn of the Bakiga elders to reply, they did so as follows:

Rwambuka noted that the Government had entrusted them with chiefly posts, but asked to be provided with Baganda to show them how to perform the duties. He asserted that the Bakiga were still far behind.

Captain Salmonson replied that it would be Ssebalijja's duty to do whatever was necessary.

Turyabasaija insisted that he should not be under the authority of Rwagara who had killed *Turyabasaija*'s father. He feared that he would be killed himself if he came under Rwagara's jurisdiction. He asked that each man be allowed to rule his own clan, and to report direct to Ssebalijja.

Captain Salmonson replied that the Government would recognise only those chiefs already mentioned, and insisted that persecution was over.

Ndyabawe : Did not like the prospect of being ruled by Rwagara, who belonged to a different clan which had never had authority over him. He asked that Rwagara should rule his own clan, and *Ndabawe* his.

Captain Salmonson stated that no-one could object to the Government's appointments, nor could more chiefs be appointed. There ended the meeting.

That was the first great council meeting held in Kigezi, and from then on we understood that the English had taken over the country. Though I had toured the whole area and decided cases, and made military expeditions, I had regarded all that as temporary, and we had said that we would later go away! After this meeting *Yonasani* went to his assigned area, and *Fransisko Kiwanuka* was appointed Agent to Makobore. *Matia Atannafa* was sent to Kinkiizi.

Rwagara, considering the opposition of the Bakiga, refused to rule the area assigned to him, and restricted his rule to the area of his kinsmen, of the Bakungu and Basigi clans. The rest of the area relapsed to me. I established headquarters at Kumba on Kizunza hill, and appointed *Augustino Muddembuga* as my deputy there. When we saw that Rwagara had failed as *saza* chief, we also abandoned the idea of finding a native to become *saza* chief of Shoko, Nyarusanje and Nyakishenyi. I then established headquarters at Mpalo, and appointed *Ariseni Walusimbi*.

On November 13th 1912 Mr. Combie transferred the fort from Bufumbira to Kumba. Until that time no Mukiga had tried to do any work for us, but from this time onwards they were obliged to work for ten days each. Our Banyankole porters were dismissed. It was difficult to select labourers for work - and indeed it was not so much selecting labourers as arresting them. Every man selected fled, but those who were arrested did the work conscientiously, without having to be forced, bless the Lord.

When the fort was transferred to Kumba, *Ndungutse* found that he had nowhere to go, as the Germans were also seeking to arrest him. He surrend-

ered himself and was sent to Jinja where he died of small-pox. Some people thought he was Muhumuza's son, but clearly he was not.

On February 25th 1913 I established headquarters at Butare, adding buildings to the houses I had built the previous June, and planting sweet potatoes. When I was satisfied with the place I left as my deputy there Yowano B. Sekikubo. I returned to Kabale and Nyarusanje. Msgr Streicher visited Rukiga while I was in Nyarusanje. From there he travelled to Kumba, Bufumbira, Kiduwa, and returned across lake Ngezi to Kabale. In Kabale he found me. In that area was also a rebel named Rwantare. Msgr. Streicher asked me to find a man to send to Rwantare. I replied that Rwantare was untraceable, and that it was therefore useless to send anyone. Nevertheless he insisted, and I found a man. The messenger found Rwantare and told him that Msgr. Streicher wanted him. Immediately he stood up with his bowl of honey-beer and came. When I saw him I asked if he were Rwantare the rebel. He replied that he was indeed Rwantare but that he had not rebelled, and that he had never encountered any of my messengers until the present. Other Bakiga confirmed that this was Rwantare. His toe-nails were overgrown and caked in clay, as he had been building a house in the papyrus reeds, where he spent the day hiding. His finger-nails were also overgrown. I took him to Msgr. Streicher, who warned him never again to rebel against the Europeans, but to obey their orders. He then gave him 6 feet of American cloth and a letter to Mr. Combie so that it might be known that he was no rebel. When he appeared before Mr. Combie, no action was taken against him. He was told to obey the Government's orders, and he then returned home. The Lord is powerful! Those who trust Him are favoured by Him. He had carried out several expeditions against Rwantare, who had had several people killed and their houses burned down. Here he was now, peacefully submitting. His wives and children and his property were free. He died in 1930, a very active and diligent man, the leader in the reserve area. He is ever remembered by the people of that area.

When the Bishop left Kabale he spent the night at Mpalo, accompanied by the Reverend P. Lafleur. From there he travelled to Mbarara via Rutobo. He was pitied for having to travel on foot through immensely hilly country, but God protected him well and he completed the journey without any hitch.

During 1913 I established headquarters at Mpalo, and installed Y. Ssemunda as my deputy there. Shortly afterwards I appointed M. Semuye as my deputy in Mpalo and transferred Ssemunda to Kibanga. Much work was undertaken that year, including the construction of the fort, the establishment of headquarters and the building of roads. From Nyarusanje I established headquarters at Nyakisenyi, where I established myself and from where I toured the surrounding areas. All these headquarters had a church, in which my followers and I used to pray. The Bakiga considered anyone professing a religion to have a stupid heart and to have died completely! Of course people who had not begun to work were unapproachable and unreliable in religious matters.

In 1913 Mr. Combie was replaced by J. H. MacDougall for a short time, during which work continued on the construction of Kumba fort. The arrival

of Mr. G. E. E. Sullivan relieved the burden of work. He endorsed Salmonson's decision to build a town in Kabale. We carried new timber from Kumba to Kabale, cut fresh timber from Mafuga forest, and brought bamboo poles for roofing. We began the dormitory now situated on Makanga hill. The original was very high. Then we added an office on the site of my earlier council hall. Where the prison is now, was originally my house. The present council hall is where Augustine Muddembuga's house stood. I erected my headquarters at Butobere, during heavy rains which made water spring out of the ground in a remarkable manner. My headquarters at Butare was made into a gombolola which was given to Stefano Musoke. Nyakishenyi, Nyarusanje and Kitozo became a separate gombolola under Abdulla Muwanika. Kumba was also separated as a gombolola, and so was Mafuga, which was placed under Muddembuga. The gombolola of Bufundi, formerly occupied by S. Musoke, was given to Y. Bapere. Muddembuga was dismissed soon afterwards, and his gombolola was given to U. Maganzi, who also served but a short term, after which the gombolola was acquired by Y. Patista Jjute.

When war broke out in 1914 Nyindo rebelled. Sullivan launched a military expedition against him. The Bakiga were also disturbed. I took my property into the town in order to look after Government property, and I slept in the office. Mr. Y. B. Balaba's house on Butobere was set on fire by Bakiga. I particularly requested Stefano Musoke at Butare to guard our border with the Germans, and inform me as soon as he learned of their whereabouts. He had six rifles. Sullivan found Nyindo and fought him. Nyindo fought hard, but having only spears and no rifles he was defeated and fled to the Germans. Sullivan then returned to Kabale via Nyarusanje. At this time many soldiers came from Buganda and from the Congo. We made great efforts to collect and transport food for them, and we never failed. Between 1,000 and 1,500 loads were being carried each day. The route from the Congo became very dry from the great multitudes of Belgians treading it!

Changes in chiefs had already been made. Basajjabalaba was transferred from Bukinda to be Agent in Rujumbura; S. Muyamba had been posted to Bukinda; Matia Atannafa had been dismissed from Kinkiizi and his place taken by Sulemani Ntangamalala an ex-Police Sergeant. We were perplexed by the war. Sullivan joined the army and went to Tabora, and he was succeeded by Mr. MacDougall. On November 6th 1915 I went with that officer and the interpreter - R. Kyegombe - to Kinkiizi and to Rujumbura to demarcate six gombololas in that country. The demarcation was as follow:-

Kakunga gombolola was handed over to Makobore who was also county chief. Kuhinda gombolola was handed over to Zakaria Balaka.
 Kasesse gombolola was handed over to E. S. Karyegesa.
 Buyanza gombolola was handed over to Lwambabali.
 Nakajeme gombolola was handed over to Miranda.

We discovered that Makobore had already demarcated gombololas, and had given some villages to his brothers (Lwakisenga, Kanyina and Lukasi) and to his sons (Lwambabali and Karyegesa) and Karyegesa's sons. These made

the people submit, for no-one was allowed to rebel, but was arrested and his property confiscated. Peasants were not allowed to own goats, or if they owned them they could be slaughtered as the chiefs wished. If a peasant brewed beer, and if a master visited him, the peasant was not allowed to run out of beer, but went and bought more lest he be imprisoned. The peasants were discouraged and had nowhere to lodge a complaint. Makobore was the king of his country, independent of Ankole and of Rwanda, and he had direct and personal relations with the Belgians. He also had the power of life and death over his subjects.

At this I returned to Bisika and built a hut. From there I improved the road from Shoko to Muyumba, and collected poll tax as a saza chief and as gombolola chief. Since the failure of Rwagara, I had been both saza and gombolola chief, trying two sets of court cases.

In 1916 we were visited by Sir Daudi Chwa the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Frederick Jackson the Governor, and Prince Walugembe, who were visiting units of the army. Mr. MacDougall and I met them at the foot of Rutobo hill. They were greatly pleased with my work, and promised me a little honour. I was overjoyed that His Highness had visited us in our remote location. Shortly afterwards my master informed me that His Highness had granted me the title of Kaggo, a title conferred upon me personally, rather than attached to the post I held.

On 20th December, 1916 I asked for leave, after ten years of service without a break, and I was permitted to take four months. The D.C. filled my place as saza chief, and Arseni Walusimbi acted on my behalf as gombolola chief. The Bakiga complained that I was going away and would not return, and that the Europeans would go away as well. I left my wife behind, to convince them that I would return.

On my return from leave I found that roads had been started for motor vehicles:- one by Arseni Walusimbi from Kabale to the boundary of that gombolola, one by Musoke in his area (Butare), and one by S. Muyamba from Bukinda to Rutobo. The first motor car to use this excellent road was the one which brought the Governor in 1917. We repaired all the roads. One from Kumba was supervised by Y. Kawesa, and to Bunyonyi by Stefano Kabi. We were kept very busy on the roads and collecting poll tax.

Bakiga started paying poll tax from 1915 onwards. In that year only a few people paid it, and in 1916 they still did not properly understand it. In 1917 they understood it rather better. They thought it a sham, and at first regarded it as repaying a debt, until they discovered that the debt was never completely cancelled, but was a permanent feature. In the area of Kabale, Kitanga and Mpalo, I collected only 1300 payments in 1915, 4,724 in 1916, 4,450 in 1917, and 4,650 in 1918. There were many more tax-payers in other areas.

On July 18th 1917 Basajjabalaba was discharged as Agent of Rujumbura, and Z. Baraka was appointed as acting Agent in his place. It took a

long time to fill this post, but towards the end of the year it was given to Danieli Majere, a Mutoro.

At this time a rebel appeared, named Ntokiibiri, who used to come from the Congo and Rwanda, and travelled as far as Kumba and Kayonza and even further. The Kampala Police and the D.C. attacked him, and he retreated to Rutchuru in the Congo, but returned to the forests after the expedition had gone away. He came via Kayonza and Kinaba to Nyakishenyi where he asked the chiefs to fight against Abdulla Muwanika the gombolola chief. Many chiefs agreed to fight, but Kisyagali and Rwandare refused. For three days they prepared for battle, men and women playing music in the hills and jumping about. Muwanika did not comprehend the danger, and attributed the activity to beer drinking and the collection of grass by the women and girls. August 12th 1917, at 7.30 p.m. I received a letter from him informing me that the enemy had besieged him and had left no-one alive, and that the headquarters had been set on fire. He had taken refuge with Kisyagali at Katonya, who together with Rwandare had saved his life. I informed the D.C., who sent me 30 soldiers and Dr. Webb who had come from Mbarara to inspect Kabale hospital. They found me ready and we departed at 8.30 p.m. We then waited until the officers joined us at 11 a.m., and planned the expedition. We decided to wait until cover of darkness.

As we were approaching Menvu hill we encountered a corpse, but pressed straight on to Kisyagali's home where we rested for the night. Next morning we went to what was left of Muwanika's headquarters, which was then reduced to ashes, with corpses lying around the yard. The D. C. saw people on the hill-tops, refusing to come down, so he commanded us to shoot at them. Thereafter the Bakiga who were with us described the event as follows: "Stumps were up-rooted and spear-shafts reddened." They saw many people speared and much live-stock seized and taken away. After a few days the D.C. returned to Kabale, and I stayed behind to discover the cause of the trouble. 10 rebellious chiefs were arrested and taken away.

The captives told me that Ntokiibiri had induced them to rebel. He had come with his lamb to the house of Luwemba, and had told them that he could conquer the Europeans, drive them out and save the people from labour. They believed him. When I had collected the information I departed. The place was called Iziniro, and it was there that I arrested the woman Kazinga in 1912, who was possessed by Nyabingi. Of all the gombololas in Rukiga, Nyakishenyi was least expected to cause trouble. I myself had administered it for many years, and its people were intelligent.

On my arrival at Kabale, the D.C. advised me that rebels had appeared at Butare, in Karuzinga. On August 28th we set off, but found that the rebels had fled to Belgian territory, so we came home. Shortly afterwards the Provincial Commissioner — Mr. Browning — came to investigate the case of the 10 arrested chiefs. The case went against them. Senior Chiefs were sentenced to ten years in goal, and the other to five. Shortly after-

wards two other people — Baguma and Bagorogoza — who had escaped to Rujumbura, were arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. They were executed on February 27th 1918. J.H.C. MacDougall was D.C. of Kigezi during this period. He offered a reward of 20 head of cattle to whomever arrested Ntokibiri or Ruwemba.

On 20th November 1917 I dug a fish-pond at Butobere, and put in nsonzi fish. The nsonzis I obtained from Kamwezi, and I also obtained males from Kajara, two days' journey away. When the P.C. came on tour I sent some fish to him. Later we arranged with the D.C. to transfer some to Lake Bunyonyi. We fenced off part lake Bunyonyi to prevent them from spreading and being caught at once by the Bakiga. Then we trapped some nsonzi and male and transferred them to the lake. After two years the nsonzi had spread throughout the lake, even as far as Muko, and had filled the river as well. The fish which are now at Chakafi are descended from those transferred to Lake Bunyonyi. Previously the lake contained frogs, which the Bakiga ate, catching them in conical papyrus traps, boiling them and drying them in the sun, and eating them with millet. A small basket full of frogs made a very acceptable present during courting. Later I dug another pond at Mpalo, from which nsonzi were transferred to the rivers Sindi (Rwakizabura) and Nnozi. Now lakes Kanyabaha and Sinyanya are stocked by nsonzi.

During 1916 Nyindo returned from German territory, surrendered himself, and was sent to Kampala. On 17 February 1918 Mr. MacDougall went on leave, and the A.D.C. Mr. E. E. Filleul acted in his place. On February 24th Mr. G. V. Jervoise arrived as the new D.C. He found two murderers in prison under sentence of death - Baguma and Bagorogoza - and he executed them on the 27th of February. Doctor Terry, Mr. Filleul and many people from Nyakishenyi were summoned to be present at the execution. When Mr. Jervoise arrived, I retained my saza post, and handed over the gombolola post including Kabale, Mpalo and Kitanga to Ariseni Walusimbi.

In May 1918 a man named Baguma at Kumba waylaid a party of Bahororo resting for the night in the bush, whilst carrying salt to Rwanda. He killed one of them, and when the others fled he seized the salt. The Bahororo complained to the gombolola chief, who had many people arrested. They recognised Baguma, and salt was discovered at his house. He was sent to the D.C., who sentenced him to death and had him executed on May 13th.

On May 3rd Governor Coryndon arrived, via Toro, Bunyaruguru, Rujumbura, Kumba and Rwanda where he hunted elephant. He arrived at Kabale on July 3rd, and convened a meeting the following day which was attended by the P.C., the D.C., the A.D.C. and the saza and gombolola chiefs. He said that he appreciated the work we had done, advised us to make great efforts to have poll taxes paid early, and expressed pleasure that the Bakiga paid their taxes more promptly than in some other places. In view of five famines in Buganda, he recommended that we grow as much food as possible and keep reserves of it. Though he deplored drunkenness he

had no objection to a little drinking. He was glad that people were no longer killing each other, and hoped that people would also abandon the Nyabingi cult. He brought K.A.R. recruiters in order to keep the K.A.R. up to strength with new recruits. At that time he was visited by 4 Belgians sent by the Governor of the Congo. The chiefs were introduced to him, and the P.C. and D.C. observed that they had carried out their duties satisfactorily. Finally he informed us that Nyindo and Muhumuza would never return to Kigezi, even after five years. After the meeting he stayed for a few days, returning to Entebbe by the new motor road on 7th July.

At that time we further sub-divided the Kabale gombolola into two, and also the Nyarusanje and Bukinda gombololas. On September 4th Nyakishenyi gombolola (which had been formed out of Nyarusanje) was given to Atanansi Mudde. On October 6th E. Kagubala and Matiasi Masagazi arrived in Kabale to take over the other two new gombololas. Masagazi took over Kibanga (formed out of Kabale) on October 21st; Kagubala took over Maziba which was formed out of Bukinda. At that time also there was an epidemic of Yegu (kind of serious influenza) which killed many people, and which caused the D.C.'s meeting to be delayed.

On January 31st 1919 Mr. Jervoise left to marry, and announced that he would be posted to Jinja as P.C. when he returned from leave. We were very sorry that he was not staying longer. He had found the chieftainships incomprehensible, and had regulated administration in such a way that an official felt himself to be a chief rather than merely a headman. On February 14th Mr. J. M. Philips arrived as D.C., finding Mr. Filleul in charge and the epidemic still raging.

On June 21st of that year the Nyakishenyi trouble-makers returned, namely Ntokiibiri and Ruwemba, who appeared in Kumba. That night I received a letter from the deputy gombolola chief Simeo Zirabamuzale which told me that Ntokiibiri and Ruwemba had been seen at close quarters. I informed the D.C. and the chiefs that I was undertaking a military expedition. The D.C. was away on tour in Bufumbira at the time. I set off at 9 p.m., but by the time I arrived both rebels had been killed.

Ntokiibiri had sent a message to Bikaku at Rubanda in Musale gombolola, asking for a cow. Bikaku invited him to come and receive it. Ntokiibiri informed his friend Ruwemba and came. He told Bikaku, among other things, that he wished to see Ssebalijja, as he had fought against Europeans once before. Bikaku asked him to wait while he sent for the cow, and meanwhile gave him a goat and some beer, so that Ntokiibiri felt welcome. Meanwhile Bikaku sent a message to the chief, informing him of Ntokiibiri's arrival. Zirabamuzaale in turn informed me, and I set out with three rifles.

As we approached the house, a man stopped us, and warned us that we would be unable to defeat Ntokiibiri unless we trapped him. He had ten followers, two rifles, bows, many quivers of arrows and some cutlasses. He advised us that it would be suicidal to attack him. We disregarded this

warning, and went on to Kagamono's house where we met many people uncertain of what to do. Bikaku found us there also and told us what was going on. He suggested that we conceal ourselves in a near-by millet field, but when we refused to do so he pointed out the house where Ntokiibiri was, and wondered if we would attack.

They pressed on and quickly reached the house. They called out "If you do not want to die miserably come out and be arrested!" He refused to come out, and they fired a volley into the house. A bullet entered his thigh and penetrated to his knee, and he fell dead. When his followers saw him fall, they broke through the walls and fled. They were followed by spears and two fell dead also. They then attacked Ruwemba, telling him that if he could see what had happened to his friend he would surrender himself. He swore that he could not do so. The Europeans had killed his father; he asserted, and he could not look upon them. He was of the Bagayi clan. He broke two rifles on a stone, and threw the ammunition into a fire, where they exploded. Finding himself at a loss, he tied a rope around his neck and hanged himself. When the attackers heard his heavy breathing they thought he might be wounded by a bullet; but when they entered the house they found him dead hanging from the rope.

When I arrived the bodies were brought to me. What an exceptionally ugly little man Ntokiibiri was! On his right hand were only two fingers, namely the thumb and forefinger. The top joints of all the fingers of his left hand were all missing. He had a large scar on the right of his body, running down to the lower belly. He looked like one who had been suffering from cancer, or who had been badly burned. Though he was small and ugly he was also very brave and won great fame. A full company had come from Mwanza to tackle him, and the Belgians had also sent an army against him, though he had disappeared when they surrounded his forest hide-out. On this occasion the feet which brought him to Rukiga betrayed him. He was assassinated in the same manner as Kitengule at Kafuluma in Buddu.

Both bodies were carried on heads, and there were many people around. Before we reached Kabale I met 30 policemen sent to me by the deputy D.C., and they gave me great praise. I took the bodies to Kabale, and at 6 p.m. on that day the D.C. returned from his tour. Ntokiibiri's left hand with but two fingers, was cut from his arm and kept in prison. When it was dry it was placed on the D.C.'s verandah. The corpses were buried at Bugonji. Later Ntokiibiri's skull was required by the Government, so the corpse was exhumed and the head and the palm removed by the authorities. Thereafter the country became calm and we relaxed our vigilance. There remained only one woman, Kaigirirwa, who was not believed to have any great power.

On October 2nd 1919 the D.C. convened a meeting. He had already changed the title of chieftainship in Rukiga and Rujumbura, scrapping the titles of Mumyuka, Ssabadu, Ssabagabo, Ssabawali, Musale and Mutuba (i.e. the Kiganda titles). Now he abolished the chieftainships, and instructed

that the title "Agent" and "Sub-Agent" be used instead. The meeting was quarrelsome, and the irate D.C. dismissed the gombolola chiefs, namely Muwanika of Nyakishenyi, Mudde of Nyarusanje, and Matiasi Masagazi of Katunga. He gave no reason for dismissal. In their places he appointed Zakaria Baraka who was transferred from Rujumbura to Nyakishenyi, Ibraimu Njuba who was posted to Nyarusanje, Irela Kabuzi who was transferred from Nakageme to Kitanga, Luka Kisingiri who was transferred from the Rujumbura agentship to Kayonza (he had replaced the Mutoro, Danieli Majere who had returned to Toro as saza chief), Ariseni Walusimbi who was transferred from Kikungiri to Nakageme, Kagubala who transferred from Maziba to Kikungiri, and Alibaziwonye who was posted to Maziba. During that month all the chiefs were packing and travelling. E. Musoke became Agent for Rujumbura, where I installed him. D. Mukasa temporarily filled Musoke's vacated gombolola. On October 9th Y. B. Jutte died, having been chief at Kumba. We mourned the loss of our friend, a man of strong and religious character. D. Mukasa took over that gombolola, having been acting chief in Bufundi. Gerazio Kikenya was posted to Bufundi gombolola. E. Musoke had been there replacing Y. Bapere.

During 1920 the D.C. introduced Kiswahili, and instructed the chiefs to use that language in writing to headquarters at Kabale. He brought Baziba to Kabale in order to have Kiswahili-speaking clerks. Later he brought 20 Baziba and posted them to the saza and gombolola centres. Clerks who knew no Kiswahili were dismissed, and also those who knew a little but not enough. The work of the Baziba clerks was more advanced than our pioneer efforts, and the D.C. wanted them to combine clerical and chiefly functions. I was an old man, knowing conversational Kiswahili but unable to write it. Even though the Baziba knew Luganda, they were not permitted to speak it, on the D.C.'s orders. None of the Bakiga understood Kiswahili nor Luziba. They had already learned to speak Luganda, and those who were educated could write Luganda but not Kiswahili. The D.C. further announced, in his letter 6520 of July 6th 1920, that anyone who could not write Kiswahili should write in Rukiga or Ruhororo. These decisions added to the burden of administration.

Also in 1920 rinderpest attacked Rujumbura, brought by cattle brought from Ankole without the authority of the veterinary officer. Rinderpest spread from the enclosures where the cattle had stopped on their way. Dr. L. A. Gould was on tour, returning from Kabale to Ankole. He discovered diseased cattle at Ngurukiro village in Kebisoni, where 17 cattle had died. The gombolola chief narrowly escaped imprisonment for concealing the disease. The veterinary officer quickly brought medicines and inoculated the cattle. In that place only a few were infected, and most of those died. 7,429 cattle were medicated in Rujumbura. The gombolola of Nyarusanje and Rugeye in Rukiga were slightly affected. Z. Baraba, the chief at Nyakishenyi, was dismissed and replaced by P. Muwomya. Muwomya stayed a short time, before he was posted to Kichwamba gombolola in Rujumbura, and a month later he was appointed Agent in Rujumbura. A. Walusimbi, his predecessor as Agent, was transferred to Kichwamba.

Provincial Commissioner Cooper arrived in Kabale on 27th January 1920, making his first visit as P.C. He departed via Rujumbura on 29th April. He had succeeded the first P.C., Mr. Browning. On November 6th he and the D.C. convened a meeting at Rukungiri in Rujumbura. Makobore retired as *saza* chief and handed the office on to his son E. S. Karyegesa. He was offered the choice of retaining the *gombolola* next in rank to the *saza*, having for a long time administered both. However he declined, and replied that as he was too old to run the *saza* without an Agent, he was also too old to run the *gombolola*. On the same occasion two other chiefs were dismissed. Makobore's elder son, Rwakabambari, was dismissed from Kayonza after five years' service: Daudi Mukasa was transferred from Kumba to take it over. E. Karukubisa was also dismissed from Kebisoni after five years' service: he was succeeded by Nasanaili Muwereza, who had been personal secretary to Karyegesa at Kasesse. Karukubisa was a brave man. With his bow and poisoned arrows he had conquered Kebisoni, and the people nicknamed him Munyama. The government attributed his dismissal to his frequent sickness.

Karyegesa's former *gombolola* was given to Miranda, another long-service man. He had been Makobore's prime minister, had been given a *gombolola* in 1915, and had been dismissed from it in 1919. Now he was re-instated. The *gombolola* which Makobore resigned was given to Yokana Katula who had been Makobore's secretary. When this man left, the Bishop sent me another man, Matia, whom he instructed to go to Rwanda. After a short time he returned to Buganda.

Yowana Kitagana arrived from Bunyaruguru, and we lived together. He travelled everywhere, but the Bakiga showed no interest in him. Yozefu Lwanga came from Kajara. He had previously been teaching in Kagamba with his friends. They found me at Nyarusanje. Augustino Kapere came from Mbarara, and also found me in Nyarusanje. Rafairi Kawukumi also came from Mbarara, to teach at Mpalo. Kapere was transferred to Nyarusanje. Matayo Kayonza also came from Mbarara and taught at Nyarusanje. Antonio Munwaza was a Mukiga. Kitagana built a church on Rushoroza hill. All these catechists taught at the chiefs' courts. Later we obtained the following posts:— Rushoroza in Kabale; in Nyarusanje *gombolola*, Mpalo, Kakiri, Kitanga, Rwandoine, and Bukinda; In Kumba *gombolola*, Nyakigugo, Butare, and Rutozo. These posts had been surveyed by the Reverend Fr. P. le Tohic. Others were added after the Fathers arrived at Rushoroza. Reverend Fr. Laane arrived in 1923, as already mentioned. Yowana Kitagana, together with the catechists, is the father of the first Bakiga to profess Christianity. I am their grandfather!

There was nowhere for a catechist to live in Rujumbura, although Fr. le Tohic had demarcated the following sites — Rutoma in Kagunga, Nyakibale and Kahoko in Nakageme, Kiwumulo in Buyanza, and Nyakinyinya in Kichwamba. When Walusimbi was transferred to Rujumbura, the priests sent Augustino Kapere to him, to carry on the teaching. When Walusimbi was transferred from the Agentship, the catechist had to leave, as the new Agent would not permit him to continue to live in the Agent's enclosure,

and as there were no labourers, food or materials for him to build his own church. When Walusimbi was transferred, many professing Christians lapsed to other religious beliefs.

Everyone in Kigezi professed the religion of their chief. This practice still occurs today. Some people also profess a religion in the hope of being given a chiefly post. In the past this was practised by one section. The P.C. eventually decided to equalise the number of chiefly posts held by Catholics and Protestants.

Sulemani Ntangamalala was Agent of Kinkiizi for 13 years, from 4th June, 1913 until 31st December, 1928 when he retired. He was a Muslim, but loved all religions equally and hated no-one. We had three posts in Kinkiizi — Kanungu, Kirima and Toroma in Kambuga gombolola. Our catechist Alfredi lived in Ntangamalala's house, and Ntangamalala would tell him the right time to sound the drum for prayers, until Alfredi had his own drums. He addressed people as father-in-law, mother-in-law and so on. All the people loved him. He discouraged enmity between people of different religions. Kinkiizi people should always remember him. Whenever I toured there he would collect all the people to pray with me, so that our prayers should be the same!

Abdulla Namunye was Agent in Bufumbira, where Nyindo was saza chief before he rebelled. There we acquired five places — headquarters at Kiduwa, and other posts at Nyatobo, Nyarusiza, Busego and Kinanira. We had no catechists there until the priests arrived at Rushoroza. Namunye was strong in his duty, and fair to all the religions. In 1920 he sought and received 4 months' leave. On his return the D.C. transferred him from Bufumbira (where he appointed E. Musoke instead) and sent him to Nyakisenyi. He did not object, but stayed at Nyakishenyi for five years, after which he was given another gombolola at Kikungiri, until he became Agent for Kinkiizi in 1927. This shows that his work was considered satisfactory.

The first Protestant in Rukiga was Zakaria, who settled on Kikungi hill, on the site of the present headquarters of Ndorwa county. The D.C. removed him from there to Rugarama; however he was killed while touring Bufumbira during the rebellion. In 1916 he was succeeded by another Zakaria, who was also a Muganda. He in turn was replaced by a Munyankole named Zedekia Rwamafi. These men had two churches: — Bukinda and Rujumbura. Other churches were added when European medical missionaries arrived at Kabira. They made many converts throughout Kigezi. The first Protestant church was built at Rwakabengo.

Muslims had a mosque at Ruyita in Kigarama near the district headquarters. Their first teacher was Salifu, who spent a long time in Kabale. Muslim chiefs would build a mosque wherever they stayed, to provide a place for worship. In Bufumbira, Namunye was assiduous in teaching the people Islam. The first Muslim converts were Juma Mitembi and Jaberu Rwakarara. Others hesitated as Islam presented difficulties to them, and

I do not know if any were converted. There was no single Mohororo Muslim, though perhaps there may be some in future. There is no mosque in Rujumbura, and Muslims have to worship in Kajara. In Rukiga there is one Mukiga gombolola chief and one muruka chief.

I made it a custom for them all to meet on Monday, to hear the laws as well as the cases involved. I first asked them their decision and to explain it, before giving my own. Whenever a complainant appeared I had a pointed iron rod in accordance with Bakiga custom. I would give the rod to the complainant and instruct him to call the defendant, who would come when he saw the rod. They were afraid to throw the rod away lest they incur a fine. The Lord blessed me in that I was obeyed by everyone. When a complainant in a property case was successful he would hesitate before taking possession of the property.

He wondered who would protect his possession of it after I left, especially if he belonged to a small clan, in which case he might fear that he would be killed by the unsuccessful defendant. It took the people a long time to understand the English practice.

May the Virgin Mary keep all the people of that country.

CHAPTER TWELVE

BAGANDA AGENCY 1911-1924.

By E. N. Bisamunyu.

I.

The period of Baganda Agency lasted from about 1911 to 1930 and it may be divided into four parts for the sake of convenience. These are 1911-1914, a period marked by organising the country into administrative units, for example, countries and gombororas, and the selection of Kabale as the capital. The second period is covered by the World War of 1914-1918 and includes the few years after the war to 1921. The third period spans the years which witnessed the World Slump, the coming of missionaries, the laying of the foundation of education and Westernisation and the spread of Christianity. The fourth is that period when Baganda Agents, willingly or unwillingly, relinquished their jealously guarded citadels of power, their County Chieftainships, to the natives, who, paradoxically, had served their periods of tuition and apprenticeship within the palaces and courts of these same Baganda Agents. These two decades saw a growing seething anger of the natives against foreign rule, and anger which usually found vent in the almost annual risings of Nyabingi. It is a period when Baganda Agents not only imposed their traditional political institutions upon the country, but also when their will became law, and their customs, much to the distaste of the natives, were forced to be imbibed by them. It is a period when to offend the feelings of an Agent was to anger and provoke vindictiveness and fury of the whole administration against oneself and one's dependants. The only mediator between the suffering natives and the torturing Agents were the Agents themselves, and misinterpretation by these Baganda Agents was enough to blind the administering officers and consequently to allow a fault or a mistake to go unpunished. Taxes were also levied in kind, and the assessment was left to the discretion and whims of an Agent. What was collected fairly, namely, tax-labour, was spent on the laying out and construction of a network of roads, a prerequisite of good administration, as every part of Kigezi was made accessible. The pagan way of life and the rule of anarchy unwillingly began to give way to a better mode of life. It is a period which witnessed the helpless resistance of Nyabingi against new forces, and her final annihilation. There was an appalling lack of an articulate native to voice the grievances or appreciation of the local inhabitant; a period of much frustration to the native, and yet a period of hope: of hope in that a number of people were taken in hand by Baganda Agents and gradually trained in the new art of government, and schools were founded.

In 1913 the District Commissioner reported, *inter alia*, "On assuming charge of the District the native administration was found to be in an embryo state: the agents appeared to be exercising too much liberty, and

the natives were not taking sufficient part in the administration of their native country". The quotation is self-explanatory: it states a fact. This was a period marked by unchecked extortion and during the course of that very year, the District Commissioner had had to dismiss one Muganda Agent whom the report describes as a "persistent extortioner". The second step the District Commissioner had to take that year was to limit and restrict the indefinite powers of all Agents. The fact of the matter is that the District Commissioner did this on his own initiative; the native could not have dared to assert himself against his overlords. This was the beginning of a long line of steps to curb the greed of the agents, a line which culminated in the final decision at the end of the period in question, to dispense with Baganda Agents. During that year constructional work on the buildings for the transfer of the Headquarters from Ikumba to Kabale continued. The transfer was completed in 1914. Rukiga was divided into Gombororas for administrative convenience.

The chief problems of these two or three years were not few. First and foremost was the question of whether there were any potential leaders who could be trained to take an active part in the administration of the country. Even if these were available, there was the yet more puzzling question as to whether who should instruct them in the rudiments of the three R's. A few Banyankole evangelists had tried to bring Christianity during these years, but their work before the war was infinitesimal, and at the break of the war they ran away. Could the Agents, the only people who could read and write in the country, undertake the tutorship disinterestedly? Fortunately for them these questions did not arise. The District Commissioner's report for the year 1913 is convincingly outspoken and it points to the gravity of the situation. In all countries the required potential leaders were sadly lacking, both in quality and quantity. "I wish it to be clearly understood that with the exception of the Batutsi in Ruanda (Bufumbira), there are no persons in the district of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs, in the sense of the word as used among uncivilized tribes elsewhere; hence anything in the way of native administration is difficult both to start and to carry out." That this officer was very much concerned with this question is revealed in his stating, in the same report, that he was awaiting sanction from his superiors to train "natives to manage their own affairs, which is at the moment an impossibility." Though history has proved his pessimism wrong, yet we cannot discount the fact that during those years, he saw no native forthcoming. As far as Central Kigezi was concerned his fears were justifiable, for Dr. Stanley Smith, writing eight years later, said, "They are wild lawless tribe of magnificent physique, though as a race not strikingly intelligent. One of the best of their Christians said that there was no love among the Bakiga." The problem in Central Kigezi was both delicate and intricate, for even if any potential intelligence was available, the bitter inter-clan rivalry and hatred would have barred the way to any possible solution. In any case, we have to swallow the bitter truth that early searches for potential intelligent leaders yielded no fruit, and the British Officers had to choose between Baganda Agents and poor, unintelligent unenterprising material. The choice fell on the former.

In Bufumbira the position was far from good. Although Nyindo was a possibility for training, he had only been created the paramount chief, and his position was little recognized by his subjects. For his own part, he had not yet felt the "proper sense of his position and responsibilities." The Batutsi were still under the influence of Musinga, the King of Ruanda, and there was little love between them and Bahutu. Such dualism would have required the forceful combining powers of a patriarch, but none was available, and so during the period in question the administration had to place a strong agent near these German and Belgian borders to settle the incessant cattle disputes. When war broke out in 1914, the proximity of Bufumbira to both the German and Belgian borders left her open to constant disturbances, fears and troubles. The Batutsi who were more loyal to Musinga than to the British Administration threw in their lot with him, and persuaded the Bahutu to do the same. During the early years of the war, Bufumbira became the hot-bed of anti-loyal risings, manufactured by Batutsi, and at times taking the form of a witchcraft movement. Events which took place are the subject of the next chapter, and so let us now survey conditions elsewhere before the war.

Let us turn to the North, where we shall find little better than elsewhere. Makobore had been told from the outset that he could "manage" that district. Captain Reid of the Kivu Mission had, as early as 1911, described Makobore to be "the most shifty and unreliable chief in Kigezi", and this assessment of him continued to hold good during the years in question. In spite of a warning that he could be deported for his unchecked obstructionism, he took no heed, and the "District" was the most out of hand. Naturally, Makobore resented what he regarded to be the parasitic interference of a foreign Muganda Agent in his Kingdom. Moreover, he could not stomach the constant dictated "rule" of a foreigner, and so friction arose. "Makobore is constantly drunk, handicaps the agent in every way, and is a mere curb on the advancement and progress of the district. In addition to which he and his Bahima oppose the government on every possible occasion. The peasants in this district appear to be greatly oppressed by the Bahima", so someone wrote in 1913. Whatever the argument, Makobore saw no reason why another man should give laws and orders in his traditional Kingdom, and the Bahima, following his lead, chose to adhere to the old customary laws and rules rather than to heed the words of a foreign usurper. In any case, one fails to understand how two rulers with two different codes of law, one Christian and humanized and the other customary and pagan, could have lived in and ruled the same domain side by side. Inherently, the seeds of friction were there, as old bottles could not contain the new wine. Up to the beginning of the war, this friction went on. The behaviour of the Agents themselves, we must allow, was not conducive to a harmonious, mutual living side by side. Evidence for this may be found in the dismissal of one, Falanswa, for "misconduct", in 1914. Had there been enough officers to contact the native at the lowest level, and had there not been the language handicap, much of the rancour and ill-feeling which predominated this period could have been avoided.

In Kinkiizi, the Agent's responsibility at this time, *inter alia*, was to keep peace among the various chiefs, and to induce them to exercise more control over their people. Obviously the rival native rulers could not have agreed amongst themselves to present a combined front against the invader, and so the invader became the ruler and formulator of policy and law. The country was thinly populated, and the northern parts of Kivimbo and Butumbi were more of a home to the tsetse fly than to the human specie. As elsewhere, so in this sparsely populated area, no one strong hereditary chief was available, and so Kigezi as a whole bent to submission to Baganda Agency within a couple of years before the World hostilities of 1914-1918. So ended the age-long independence of divided Kigezi.

The second problem facing early administrators in Kigezi was poverty. Credit that must be accorded to the British Administrators is that right from the beginning they tried as much as possible to introduce and experiment with cash crops. Early on, Agents were encouraged to plant a few coffee trees in Bukinda and Nyarushanje. By 1914 Ssebalijja had a "small coffee plot at Nyarushanje" — good example to the native. Hill-rice, wheat and black wattle were all tried before the war. The success of black wattle, even today, is owed to that short and yet experimental period before the war. The experiments, whether successful or otherwise, carried out by the British Administration immediately after accepting responsibility for Kigezi, show that the grim problem was approached realistically in an endeavour to try and start Kigezi on a sound economy. A big debt is owed to that spirit of good will and love. The fact that the very first officials of the British Administration set all their hearts and minds on the problem of poverty and the lack of any economic crop in Kigezi absolves the British from the usual false colonising ambitions. English vegetables were found to "grow well" as early as 1913, so the few economic crops we have now date back to the administration in embryo.

The other main problem, tricky and intriguing, was dual in nature, and I will try and combine its two aspects. Both drunkenness and Nyabingi troubles seem to have sprouted from the same evil spirit, and their annual recurrence seem to have coincided with the harvest of sorghum (*mu-reccurrence* seem to have coincided with the harvest of sorghum (*mu-gusha*). As early as 1913 someone reported, Bakiga are thickly populated race, of a very fine physique, and agriculturists. Their principal crops are peas and mtama (sorghum). While by no means lazy they are very dense, and of a quarrelsome nature that is accentuated by a propensity to excessive beer-drinking." This is corroborated by another one, by a different person in a different position in 1921. Speaking of the Bakiga as a hardworking people, and praising their physique, this writer concluded on an anti-climatic note thus: "But otherwise drunkenness, witchcraft and the grossest heathenism are the chains that bind these people in Satan's thralldom." Later on in his correspondence, this same writer deplored the fears attendant on spirit workshop which he said were maiming the mental and physical potentialities of the Bakiga. The only redeeming feature regarding this problem is that the natives of Kigezi do not have the bad reputation of having murdered a Gordon, a Hannington, or any other person of European origin. Although brawls consequent upon drunkenness

usually resulted in homicide among the Bakiga themselves, they never took an anti-foreign trend during the period in question. The concern of the administrators was prompted by their desire to induce the Bakiga by persuasions or threats to respect the blood of their fellow Bakiga. Moreover, the officers had to take all precautions to guard against — who knew? — possible eventualities. Furthermore, it was a habit to be discouraged. It was only when, coupled with the subversive, secret Nyabingi cult, it created stronger grounds for alarm and invited the necessity for armed intervention, backed by a rigorous and austere legislation. Drunkenness might have been a natural habit of the Bakiga, but Nyabingi was an importation. That the wars of Rwanda succession should have influenced the spiritual outlook of the Bakiga, and affected their fortunes and mishaps, can only be explained by expert scholars of spiritworship.

The origin of Nyabingi can be traced to Karagwe as early as the seventeenth century, and to Rwanda as early as about the eighteenth. The reappearance of Nyabingi in Kigezi, in as far as influenced the period we are considering, can be identified with that of Muhumuza, one of the two wives of Rwabugiri, whose son, Buregyeya, the rightful heir to the throne, was dispossessed by a strongly supported rival claimant. Dying in 1894, Rwabugiri left the throne to the infant Buregyeya. A regency, headed by his eldest brother, was installed; only to be repulsed quickly by a faction which supported a rival candidate. Muhumuza, fleeing with her son and the bodyguard, camped at Rutobo. Muhumuza still wanted to regain her position in Rwanda, and scratched her brains not a little harshly to invent the means. Possessing great ability, powers of leadership and organisation, she devised means to win some kind of awe-inspiring authority among Bakiga. This she simplified in three words, namely, the Revival of Nyabingi Cult. She soon made herself a Mugirwa, the High priestess of Nyabingi, and not a few Bagirwa (priestesses) surrounded her. With another stroke, she proclaimed herself to be the personification of Nyabingi.

'The previous incarnations of Nyabingi, whose "palaces" Emin Pasha visited in April 1891, were forms of spirits whom Rwabugiri had intended to appease by sending to Ndorwa'

The die was cast, and history made; for henceforth all Nyabingi worshippers rallied round her to form a politico-religious Society, a necessary force to fight for the rights of Buregyeya. However, the times were not propitious. From 1900 — 1903 the Germans were organizing Rwanda, and Muhumuza did not strike in time. In any case, it was not a fair augury to Muhumuza when in 1903 a group of missionaries, en route for Rwanda, passed her residence. Could spirit worship stand against the irresistibly rushing current of Christianity? Failing to win the throne, Muhumuza found asylum in a forced quietude. In 1908 she decided to visit Kasirimbo-mbo, and during the attempt she was arrested and exiled for two years. She escaped the exile and attempted a raid to regain the throne. Trained troops repulsed her, and she again camped at Rutobo. In 1911, posing as the Queen of Ndorwa, and a liberator, she set the country ablaze. Loot-

ing, raiding, burning, she ravaged Ndorwa, and many hundreds of people found refuge at Ikumba, the then Headquarters of Kigezi. Muhumuza camped at Ihanga, and the chief Agent, Sebalijja, left her alone. On 29th September, 1911, however, a clash could not be avoided. Muhumuza was arrested, shot, but not fatally, and deported to Kampala, where she died in 1945. Forty of her warriors lay slain, but her son was never seen, and her Captain, Ndungutsi, escaped, an escape which meant a resurgence of trouble from time to time. Probably Buregyeya died before the war. In 1912 all Bagirwa were rounded up and deported, and during the campaign, Mafene, the self-styled King of Ndorwa, was captured and killed by German officers in German territory. About a year later, in 1913, Ndungutsi was captured as he journeyed to Kampala. Details of what happened to him afterwards are unknown, but after his capture there only remained indiscriminate raids during the early years of the war, waged by Ndochimbiri (two-fingered man), but hatched by one called Bichu Birenga ("Wandering Clouds"). We may break off this account here, with the raid of 1915, when two thousand natives, captained by a Sacred Sheep, attacked an Anglo-Belgian post at Chahafi, but was routed.

To the early Administration, with its understaffing difficulties, both "Nyabingi" and its fanatical activities must have caused the distraction of much attention which was badly needed for putting the country in order and in readiness for modern administration. This preparatory work was given a severe check by the declaration of hostilities in August 1914. This brings us up to the next period, and we may well close this one on the following sad note. "Considerable progress was taking place in the various districts, but all administrative work received a severe check on the outbreak of war in August", so the District Commissioner reported early in 1915. We may wonder what psychological effect this had on the native. Could not he legitimately ask or wonder, "so fighting is not confined to the natives of Kigezi only"?

II

THE WAR 1914-1918

"The machines of war were set in motion. Sooner or later in all the great states of Europe, in their colonies, in Africa and Egypt, India and Asia, Australia and Canada, and, before the end came, in the Far East and the Far West, in China and Japan, in the United States and South American Republics, on land and sea, and under the sea; in the air, in industry, in finance; in the subtle and powerful sphere of modern propaganda; in every way that human ingenuity could devise, men and women, soldiers and civilians; white, black, brown and yellow races, bent their efforts to conquering, defending and destroying on a hitherto unprecedented scale."² If Europe was awakened by surprise to take arms against Germany, no doubt the outlying colonies were even more so. At the dawn of each new year premature anticipations of the end of hostilities were entertained, but in vain, until almost the end of 1918. What with the poor

communications and delicate relations with the natives in the colonies. Officers in the Colonial outposts must have suffered a great strain bounding on nervous breakdown.

As for Kigezi, German East Africa bordered on Kamwezi. The defence of Bufumbira needed the co-operation of the Belgians in order to be effective. This border was the chief cause of worry throughout the war. At the beginning of the war the Administrative Officer, Mr. J. E. Sullivan, had to give more thought and time to the defence of the border, consequently leaving most other administrative duties to the Senior Agent, Mr. Sebalijja, who, in the eyes of the Protectorate Government, acquitted himself creditably. A year later, the mantle of Supply Officer fell on the District Commissioner, which meant he could give still less attention to the administration of the District. Nor, it will be born in mind, had the District Commissioner any well-equipped, well-trained force to concentrate on the Anglo-Belgian-German border. We can assume that both the administrative and military sides of Kigezi were at stake. Thanks to the good sense of the natives, the rest of Kigezi gave no grounds for alarm, and at the beginning of 1915 the District Commissioner was in the proud position to report, "The Bakiga have given very little trouble this year and are becoming less timid and prone to quarrel than formerly was the case." This tone runs through all the annual reports during the course of the War years, and we may account for this state of affairs by recalling to mind the very firm hand with which Baganda Agents had from the outset treated the Bakiga. Moreover, the natives had from the beginning realized the supremacy of European weapons, and the use of these against themselves they tried never to invite. The little of what the District Commissioner could lay hands on in the way of building up a military force, he concentrated on the border, till the end of October 1914, when a Belgian troop arrived to reinforce the so-called Defence Army.

The proximity of Bufumbira to the German and Belgian borders respectively, left her open to constant disturbances. Firstly, the Batutsi of Bufumbira sympathized with Musinga, and finally decided to side with him against the British. In so doing, they tactfully and diplomatically convinced some of the Bahutu of Bufumbira, with whom they had till then never looked eye to eye, to follow suit and declare war against the British. Agent Abdalla was attacked, and one duka looted at Kisoro. Secondly a witch movement which flared up with the rumour that Muhumuza had escaped from her exile in Kampala and had thrown in her lot with the Germans to form an invincible alliance which would dispel the British from Kigezi — was received with unquestioning credulity. In particular, two witches, one Wahire and another Chandungutse began untiringly to inflame the whole of Bufumbira with anti-European ideas, and to conjure up false hopes of immediate liberation from foreign rule. Nevertheless, Wahire's death and Chandungutse's arrest followed closely on each other, and these, coupled with the non-appearance of Muhumuza, retrieved the situation, and the movement died out. The District Commissioner must still have felt uneasy for many months to come, for not only had he not received troops, but also on October 11th. 1914, Batutsi attacked the District Commission-

er's camp at Kigezi, and for a couple of days burnt villages belonging to loyal natives in the neighbourhood. They were finally routed, with heavy losses of life, but with the small force and scanty provisions at the disposal of the District Commissioner, the success could not be followed up. This afforded the Administration but a few months of uneasiness, for the Belgian reinforcement arrived at the end of that very month.

On 1st. January, 1915, twelve Germans and three hundred men with two maxims attempted to invade Bufumbira, with the object of re-establishing Nyindo. They attacked a position near Chahafi. The invasion lasted only thirteen hours, and ended in failure.

At about the same time Chief Katuregye, around Lake Bunyonyi, caused not a little trouble in Kigezi.³ Backed by Germans, he led a Batwa raid into Rukiga and slaughtered many a woman and child before he was repulsed. He continually raided tribes loyal to the British Government, and interrupted communications on Lake Bunyonyi by firing at runners, messengers, and natives sent to fetch firewood for the troops, until a military patrol forced him back to his own place. His expulsion from the immediate vicinity of Lake Bunyonyi afforded the troops a lull.

Apart from these above mentioned skirmishes, Kigezi remained peaceful, and continued to progress under the guidance of the Baganda Agents. Bufumbira was reorganized in December 1914. Only in Rujumbura was progress not appreciable, owing to the unfriendly attitude of the Bahima. The Rutobo — Kabale road was opened, and Tax-labour was duly paid by 10,000 men the first time it was introduced in 1914. Kigezi managed to stand alone for the first few months of the War against military incursions from the German border, but the internal situation was far from relaxed. Kinkizi was never visited by any Officer during the first two years of the War, though some of her Chiefs visited Kabale. The Agent was left to his own devices, and the natives remained loyal and quiet. In Rujumbura there was no headway. "Makobore continues to be an effectual check on the progress of his country, and no real improvement can be expected until he is removed" — so the District Commissioner wailed in his report of 1915. Only in Rukiga was the situation tolerable. The danger-spot remained Bufumbira. First of all the Belgians were in occupation, while the British were the administrators of the country. The natives were thrown into confusion. "The District has received a severe check owing to the War, and to the fact that it has been wholly occupied by Belgium. It is not surprising that the natives have begun to wonder to whom the country now belongs",⁴ so the report for 1915 summarized this confusion. Secondly, the witch movement intensified with this confusion, with the result that the country was in a "State of turmoil throughout the year" (1915). The movement took on anti-European colour unlike Musakamba, Mutezi and Misesero who remained loyal to Britain. Their cattle and other property were at the mercy of Bigemano. Nyindo and Katuregye, the pro-German vassals. Many loyalists suffered immense losses of cattle, which the British Government tried, as much as was practicable, to offset by compensations.

One of the few minor introductions, of a positive nature, during the early years of the War was the linking of Kabale and Mbarara with a telegraphic line. Messages which had previously taken two to four days to exchange, if all went well could now be exchanged within a matter of minutes. But the natives of both Ankole and Kigezi did not take long to discover that the wire could be put to better use than just hanging loose from pole to pole — that is, the manufacture of anklets; and soon they embarked on intermittent raids on it, thus causing a great problem for the Administration, till Camps were instituted along the line to safeguard the wire.

The third year of the War saw a little relief for those within Kigezi, for the zone of hostilities had shifted further South. Moreover, the Belgian troops left the District. The District Commissioner's report for that year punctuated a great sigh of relief. "The departure of Belgian troops from the District has removed a source of frequent embarrassment." But all did not become a bed of roses at once.

In south-west Ndorwa, near Butare, Kanyaruanda tried to cause trouble, but was arrested by the Belgians, who handed him over to the British Administration for "safe custody" in Kabale. In Bufumbira Ndochimbi remained a source of trouble, though a force of only ten policemen managed to confine his activities to the Congo. A punitive expedition under Lt. Col. Riddick early in 1916 failed to arrest him, and he escaped for good, but a heavy blow was dealt on his confederates on this side of the border, and his settlement rendered permanently uninhabitable. In May 1916 Nyindo surrendered himself and was deported. His right-hand men, Birahira, Mitobo and Semana also surrendered. Their confederate, Katuregye, died of wounds received from a fight with British loyalists, and thus ended the activities of pro-German traitors on British soil.

During this and, indeed, the previous two years, it will be remembered that claims of War had taken precedence over every other consideration. The Assistant District Commissioner was the only Official of the Administration who managed to tour Kigezi, and this he did only once, when he accompanied the Provincial Commissioner. Of Rujumbura the report of that year again spoke disapprovingly of the hereditary ruler. One or two sentences are enough. "Makobore is as useless as ever, No real progress can be hoped for until the chiefs of Rujumbura are paid. It will then be possible to replace some of the apathetic persons who are regarded as chiefs by a better class of man." Whatever other reasons may be adduced for this state of affairs, the real danger for the War-period and after was rather the haughty bearing of the Baganda Agents who continually told not the lower sub-chiefs but also Makobore himself that unless he did this or that they would inform "Bwana" (the topmost authority) to demote him and also deport him. This threat would naturally go against the grain of an hereditary aristocrat. It was at that time that Muginga, who had absented himself from his assigned duty in Kayonza, and stayed in enemy territory for a month, was arrested on return and was to be deported. "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely" — and so Baganda

Agents who, by force of war circumstances were left in positions of high unchecked power, did much to alienate the goodwill of the native subordinate auxiliaries. Much of the ill feeling which coloured the twenties must have been sown during this period, when all matters of civil administration were the concern of Baganda Agents.

During these cloudy years, it may be noted, however, that not all good work was sacrificed to war demands. For example, a good number of roads were constructed. The Soko road was widened, and a diversion from Rutobo to Kabale, almost following the present Muhanga-Kabale road, was built. A good many small roads were constructed to link Kabale with her village-towns. All these were made by tax-labour. Moreover, the Agents continued to meet together at Kabale for the holding of courts. This was the origin of the Kigezi District Court, comprising county chiefs and the more important sub-county chiefs.

Social Change During The War 1914 — 1918

This was a period when Native customs, ways of living and tribal organization saw a steady disintegration. Firstly, although the natives played almost a dormant part in the war, a good many of them were engaged in transportation of both troops and their baggage from camp to camp or from one place of activity to another. Secondly, the tax-labour, which was introduced about the time of the declaration of War, necessitated some young-blooded tax-payers leaving their homes and living away in camps where the position of the head of clan or family was taken by the gang leaders — commonly known as "Nyampara" — who were foreigners with degenerate influences. Nubians, Baganda, Baziba and others were the leaders to whom the temporarily detribalized native looked for a standard of behaviour which was in most cases lacking. Whatever other blame we may attribute to the coming of westernisation into Kigezi, this one must be added, that the early agents of westernisation were themselves half-forged tools who little understood what they were doing. The heritage of labour camps of those days are words like "Komanyoko", "Tumbafu" (You are a fool) and others, a language indicative of degenerate moral standards. It ought to be placed on record, however, that the struggle in Kigezi with the Germans and their proteges was brought to an immediate end through the native labour which provided a mobile, reliable means of transport to the troops. Never once did the native porters shirk responsibility or become truants. They carried their burdens without a murmur between one assigned camp and another, and went home with the agreed transport fee which enabled not a few natives to earn money for their Poll Tax. This was well paid during all the years the War lasted.

The process of tribal disintegration was further aggravated during these years by the almost annual occurrence of famine towards the end of the War and immediately after. Occasionally, spasmodic incidences of smallpox also upset tranquillity; but with the unquestioned loyalty of most of the natives, the administration emerged safely from the throes of war.

We now come to the year 1917. Keith Feiling summarizes the situation briefly: "Immense and tragic events filled the year 1917. In March revolution began to annihilate the force of Russia. In April the French offensive under their new leader, Neville, was beaten back with fearful losses. That month the loss of shipping by submarines rose to 90,000 tons, and a bare six weeks' food supply was assured, a rate of destruction which, unless remedied, would by the autumn either starve us (Britain) out, or paralyse our armies.⁵

FOOTNOTES.

1. Quotations, unless otherwise stated, are derived from the District Commissioners' reports for the relevant period. Kabale District Archives.
2. D.M. Ketelby, *A History of Modern Times*.
3. See Rwabihigi's account, in chapter seven.
4. The 1915 D.C.'s report pointed out that "Offences committed by Belgian troops against British natives are not punishable by British courts, but have to be referred to the Belgian authorities."
5. Keith Feiling, *History of England*, p 1069.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Allocation of Official Posts in Kigezi, 1908-1930.

by D. Denoon.

Throughout most of Uganda, British Colonial rule at first involved the employment of African agents, usually Christians and Muslims from Buganda.⁽¹⁾ Kigezi was no exception to this general state of affairs. The question which is considered in this chapter, is why the Bakiga came to occupy so many of the official posts first held and then vacated by the Baganda, when the British decided to localise as many administrative staff as convenient and safe. For most of the period from the arrival of British officials in 1908 until the conclusion of the localisation process, it seemed unlikely that the Bakiga would come to occupy their later commanding position, whereas it seemed very likely that Batusi from Bufumbira and Bashambo Bahima from Rujumbura would be promoted to most of the important and rewarding official posts.

In 1908 a rational and unprejudiced observer could not have expected the Bakiga to amount to much in terms of power. Politically and militarily they were in extreme disarray. The leader of the British mission to Lake Kivu in 1909 reported that the area he passed through was "uninhabited".⁽²⁾ Major Jack, surveying the Uganda-Congo-Rwanda border in 1910, found "few signs of human habitation. Occasionally, on the edge of a swamp, you would see a village or a few huts, and in some valleys there were traces of former cultivation, but now everything was deserted and dead." He attributed the state of affairs to famine and raiding, and found signs that people were returning to the area.⁽³⁾ In 1911 the official population estimate for the whole district was only 100,000 people.⁽⁴⁾ That figure was almost certainly too low, since even in 1913 the British were describing the region as densely populated. Doubtless the travellers passed through untypical areas, and certainly the Bakiga were keeping out of sight and out of the way of potential danger. Nevertheless the descriptions are striking.

The Bakiga had recently suffered a succession of natural and human disasters, which they were ill-equipped to withstand. From the south Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri was pushing the borders of Rwanda control and influence northwards among the Bakiga. Many came under the formal control of Rwanda, and are now to be found inhabiting two north-central districts of the Rwanda republic; many others further north were obliged to pay sporadic and irregular homage.⁽⁵⁾ Bufumbira was also brought under the formal control of Rwanda, having previously enjoyed an almost independent condition. Rwabugiri's son Nyindo was installed as ruler of this province, which was probably more loyal to the Mwami than some

provinces closer to the capital.(6) Such intense pressure from Rwanda was unprecedented so far north, but the Bakiga enjoyed a respite when Rwabugiri died in 1895 and a bitter succession war broke out which distracted Rwanda's attention from further raiding and expansion.

A more immediate and devastating threat was posed by the Batwa, who were powerful in the borderland between Bakiga and Rwanda, and especially in the forests and rough country west of Lake Bunyonyi.(7) From these strongholds they were well placed to raid throughout Rukiga and beyond. In formal warfare against the armies of Rwanda, the Bakiga could sometimes defend themselves effectively; but against the mobile Batwa guerillas, armed with bows and arrows, defence was exceptionally difficult. Early in the twentieth century the Batwa were led by a renegade Mukiga — Katuregye — who became effective ruler of all areas West of Lake Bunyonyi. It is not surprising therefore that Major Jack found the Bakiga of the south-west "truculent and aggressive" whereas the Bakiga as a whole struck him as being "mild-mannered, inoffensive people".(3) The Bakiga were confronted by superior military power to the South and south-west, and to the west they were hemmed in by the Impenetrable forest, which meant danger rather than refuge. When these mild-mannered, inoffensive people had to move, they could only move north or east from their dangerous locality.

North of the Impenetrable forest lay two small principalities, Kayonza and Kinkiizi, where many Bakiga did migrate. But the land slopes down to Lake Edward, becoming increasingly fever-stricken and inhospitable, so that movement in that direction offered no salvation. A popular option for migrants was Rujumbura, one of the strongest of the Bashambo successor states to the eighteenth century kingdom of Mpororo.(8) At the turn of the century, Rujumbura was ruled by Makobore, an unusually powerful and astute prince. The southern areas of the territory which he claimed were ideally suited to agriculture and the herding of goats, rather than cattle-keeping, and to that region many Bakiga moved. With the encouragement of the British, Makobore apparently sent a brother to rule the Bakiga in that area, but that move did not develop into a permanent arrangement. Makobore's main efforts at this early stage of contact with the British, was to prevent his principality from being absorbed into the expanded kingdom-district of Ankole.(9)

In addition to human hazards, the Bakiga had recently been exposed to natural disasters. The rinderpest epidemic damaged an economy which valued cattle highly, even though cattle did not form a staple. Shortly after the rinderpest there was an unusually severe drought, causing a considerable famine. The famine was socially disruptive, so that in some areas corpses remained unburied, and there was a consequent plague of man-eating animals.(5) The cumulative effect of these disasters was to encourage a migration of many Bakiga to the North. One collector of oral evidence attributes the migration to the intensification of raiding by the Batwa and Banyarwanda, around the turn of the century:(10) another provides an earlier mean date:(14) a third, the most convincing, argues

that there were two phases — first a steady flow of migrants from Northern Rwanda to Southern Kigezi, particularly intense during the second half of the nineteenth century; and a second general movement at about the turn of the century, from Southern Kigezi in the direction of Rujumbura (11). In this fluid situation, the preliminary incursions of Germans and British passed without much comment at the time, except that Bakiga remember their first, disastrous, encounter with fire-arms used by the Germans. (15)

Before going any further, it would be useful to establish who and what the Bakiga were. In common with the segmentary societies of Eastern Uganda (and many others) their social and political traditions made nonsense of the British and Baganda habit of classifying all Africans into tribes. (12) The term Bakiga could roughly be translated as Highlanders, and carried many of the association of that usage as applied to Scottish Highlanders in the eighteenth century. As a term of reference it was most frequently used by outsiders, and very seldom by Bakiga themselves. Further, the term applied to the inhabitants of a certain kind of country, and implied a geographical unity rather than a political arrangement. It is probably significant that the words used by the Bakiga to express 'the idea of a tribe' are more commonly and comfortably used to describe clans or lineage groups. (13) The largest term of reference commonly used by the Bakiga applied to a group of clans which shared a common ancestor and a taboo-totem: there were about eight of these groupings, none of which had any political expression. Even the clan seldom had any political expression, since different lineages of each were to be found scattered throughout, and beyond, Bakiga country. In certain circumstances the members of a lineage would describe themselves to outsiders by use of the clan name; but by far the most common term of reference (and that which was the most important political unit) was 'the localised lineage group itself, the *omuryango*, of varying genealogical depth but seldom more than half-a-dozen generations deep.

It would be fair to describe the Bakiga in 1900 as extravagantly decentralised politically, and their political behaviour determined by the degree of inter-marriage between neighbouring groups rather than by any supra-lineage institution. Not surprisingly, the Kivu expeditions thought the "Bassigawa" were a tribe, when they were actually a clan, and a decentralised one at that. (14)

Muhumuza and Nyabingi.

The circumstances in which the first important clash between British and Bakiga took place are worth some attention. The catalyst was a remarkable Tutsi woman, Muhumuza, a widow of Mwami Rwabugiri, who had been mortified to observe her son (Bilegea) defeated in the succession struggle. (16) She set up a rival court in Kajara for Bilegea, but was captured by the Germans in 1909 and detained for two years at Bukoba. She did not give up easily, and on her escape returned to Kajara near Rukiga where again she set up court with the intention of rallying support for a second attempt to place Bilegea on the Rwanda throne. In this venture she enjoyed

ed a certain degree of support from within Rwanda: some Tutsi clans favoured Bilegea. The Bakiga may have regarded Muhumuza not merely as a fractious Tutsi, but also as a promising pretext for casting off the influence of Rwanda altogether. (16) Her appeal was, however, more substantial. For one thing, she promised to raise cattle from under the ground if only she could discover a certain royal drum which would produce this effect. Related to that claim was the fact that she was accepted as a practitioner of the *nyabingi* cult which lent a great deal of authority to her statements. (5) These were the carrots: there was also a formidable stick in the form of an army of Batwa who were turned loose on Bakiga who felt disinclined to co-operate. By these means she attracted widespread support among the Bakiga: many *abakuru* led their followers into her camp in much the same way as a Scottish chieftain might have led his troops in support of a claimant to the throne, without necessarily handing over control of his particular followers. Although some individuals did join Muhumuza's forces, the organisation was primarily inter-clan rather than supra-clan, and the episode does not constitute an exception to Baxter's rule that "except for the Nyabingi priests, who were temporary phenomena, there were no persons with supra-lineage authority, and the Nyabingi priests only seem to have had more than ephemeral success when they organised their followers in terms of the clan structure." (15) The long-term limitations of such political organisation did not have time to reveal themselves, since the insurgents were suppressed by the British before they could attempt either a permanent settlement in Rukiga or an invasion of Rwanda. Professor Low, among others, has commented on the way in which factions in virtually every pre-colonial society abandoned their traditional allegiance and aligned themselves with the British, at the first sign of determined British pressure. (9) In the a-cephalous societies it was particularly obvious, and in many cases throughout Uganda local factions took the initiative in embroiling the colonial authorities in local power struggles. The fact that some Bakiga appealed to the British was almost inevitable and hardly worth commenting on, except that the peculiar nature of the internal power struggle in Rukiga had considerable effects on later British attitudes.

Three *abakuru* are known to have appealed to the British, after having refused to accept Muhumuza's pretensions — there may well have been others. Of these three, two were authorities in segments of the Basigi clan, and the other, (a Muheesi) was a practitioner of the *emandwa* cult. (5) The distinction which scholars tend to draw between *nyabingi* and *emandwa* is largely an arbitrary one: neither was a single cult with a uniform doctrine, neither ever had a single organisation, and each merged into the other in terms of practice: (11) (15) (16) nevertheless the refusal of an *emandwa* priest to participate may be of some general significance. At any rate those three *abakuru*, having been ousted by the Batwa, decided to appeal to the British forces in the vicinity. The British, uniquely aware that Muhumuza was camped in territory which the map showed to be red, supported the three and launched a dawn attack on the camp. Muhumuza was unaware either that she was on British territory or that she had incurred the enmity of the British troops. The camp was therefore unprepared for defence, and the attack was entirely successful. Muhumuza was

captured and exiled to Kampala where she died in 1945 (unless, as local legend has it, she returns to rule Rwanda and Uganda): the troops were either killed by cannon and rifle fire, or else dispersed in a rout. (5) At one blow the British destroyed the only possible basis for resistance, and established their authority throughout the district. The problem at once presented itself, of devising a means of administering these un-promising British subjects.

Until 1911 the British were innocent of any interest in the Bakiga. Buganda was still the core and the main focus of interest in the protectorate, a circumstance which largely influenced British interest (or disinterest) in the hinterland. The administration at Mbarara confined its attention almost entirely to the old Hima states which formed the district-kingdom of Ankole. British presence West of Ankole was intended to secure a favourable resolution of the boundary controversy between British and Belgium, for which purpose the abortive Kivu expedition was launched in 1908. The 1890 boundary agreement, with its quaint stipulation that Mount Mufumbiro must be British wherever it happened to be, was open to varying interpretations, one of which was almost all of modern Kigezi was part of the Congo. The pre-emptive Kivu expedition was intended, therefore, negatively to keep the Belgians out, and positively to gain an East African Simla for tired Entebbe administrators. (3) A consequence was that British interest was focussed on the border rather than the people within it, and that the British presence comprised the border garrison at a place confusingly known as Kigezi (which gave its name to the district thereafter). Of Bakiga, they knew little and cared less: the fact that they became the majority in the 'left-over' district of Kigezi, was fortuitous. One other consequence of the expedition in worth noticing, namely the introduction of Baganda to aid the British in administration. As the leader of the Kivu expedition, Coote, wrote in 1910: "I consider the system of employing Baganda agents will prove the only method of administering the district. The Bakiga are all split up into clans, recognise the authority of no chiefs, and my successor will find in Yowana Ssebalijja an excellent, most trustworthy and reliable man to put in as head agent of the district." (17)

The Muhumuza affair not only brought the initial contact, but also determined attitudes. First, *nyabingi* was perceived to be a dangerous and sinister cult. Since it was involved in the attempt to over-throw the Mwami of Rwanda, it was assumed to be inherently hostile to the Tutsi, and therefore hostile to the existing order. By an extension of this argument it was thought that *nyabingi*, being a subversive creed, must be inimical to colonial rule. Secondly, it was assumed that *nyabingi* was a unitary creed, since Muhumuza was thought in some way to be *Nyabingi*: it followed that the *nyabingi* cult must be the same thing wherever it was found and whoever was practicing it, and that it was the prime force tending to unite the Bakiga in resistance to alien rule. In all these respects it came to be assumed that *emandwa* was a very different, more conservative and more respectable cult. Third, in the simplistic manner of colonial pioneers, the British officials divided the Bakiga into two categories: the tiny, respectable, pro-British minority; and the vast, misled, anti-British (and anti-Tutsi) majority. On

these assumptions a whole complex interpretation of Bakiga politics and society sprang fully armed from the minds of the first British officers, and the more time passed and experience accumulated, the more evidence was found to support the interpretation — as the annual and quarterly reports, from 1912 to about 1920, illustrate. It is not of especial importance to this argument, whether the assumptions are correct or otherwise; but before the argument is taken any further, it may be worth noticing that these official assumptions are mistaken in several respects. For one thing, Muhumuza was not a typical product of the Bakiga political tradition, but was regarded as an alien, and as a protagonist of an alien cause. More important, the impression that *nyabingi* was a centralised spiritual or political organisation, could only have been formed at this particular point of time. The cult was certainly more authoritarian than was *emandwa*, but the authorities were by no means united either in (13) (16) terms of doctrine, or of organisation, or of political intention. Again, it is not clear that *nyabingi* was 'political' by comparison with 'conservative' *emandwa*: although Batutsi tended to prefer *emandwa*, and their enemies to prefer *nyabingi* this was not universally the case, and it is difficult to see that *nyabingi* lent itself doctrinally to anti-Tutsi politics. Major Jack went so far as to describe *nyabingi* as the ordinary religion of the Batutsi, and distinguished this from the ideology which he assumed inspired Muhumuza (3). In any case, the leadership in Muhumuza's campaign was exclusively Batutsi and Batwa, and this imposes some strain on an interpretation of *nyabingi* as being both anti-Tutsi and Muhumuza's political instrument. It is not possible to accept 'the official view that *nyabingi* was the sole and sufficient index of whether a man was favourably disposed to Batutsi influence and British control, or whether he rejected both. It would seem that by asking only whether a man had supported Muhumuza and *nyabingi*, the British officials were asking a loaded question and receiving a distorting answer. The officials were not, however, dispassionate observers of human society, but individuals who were required to try to understand everything all at once. The interpretation outlined above had the merit of being comprehensive and simple, and was for these reasons unchallenged. It followed, that the Bakiga were poor, craven superstitious creatures, unredeemed by an influential pro-British faction.

The Establishment of a Colonial Hierarchy.

In North-East Kigezi, the existing administration of Rujumbura was recognised and integrated into the larger administrative system: the Mugabe, Makobore, had been recognised by the British administration in Mbarara for some years (7) and now gained the title of ssaza chief and the support of a Muganda adviser, Faransisko Kiwanuka. Although his subordinates were not formally 'recognised' until 1915, they remained in office.

In North-West Kigezi the two major powers (both pitifully weak) were amalgamated and absorbed into the administration by subordinating one to the other and both to Kabale. The ruler of Kinkiizi, Ruhayana, became ssaza chief of Kinkiizi, with the support of another Muganda agent, Mathew Atanafa. The ruler of Kayonza, Muginga (otherwise known as Byabagambi II) became gomborora chief of Kayonza subordinate to Ruhayana.

In South-West Kigezi, the old Rwanda fief of Bufumbira became a county retaining its ruler Nyindo, half-brother of the Mwami of Rwanda, as ssaza chief, and subjecting his administration to the supervision of another Muganda agent, Abdulla Namunye. In this case, the unusual step was taken of 'recognising' some subordinate administrators at once, as gomborora chiefs, in the process of which some old subordinate officials vanish from the historian's view. Oddly enough, at least two of the gomborora chiefs recognised in Bufumbira were not Batutsi, even though officials tended to assume that Batutsi rule had been confirmed. As in Kinkiizi, an independent political unit — Katuregye's domain which acknowledged no superior — was translated into a gomborora subordinate to Nyindo. In this case, however, the anomaly recognised, and a Muganda agent was appointed to the court of Katuregye, a left-handed compliment normally reserved for county chiefs.

In the recognisably centralised areas, then, a colonial hierarchy was created by the deceptively simple means of translating titles into Luganda and appointing Baganda agents to explain the system to the new British civil servants. But the creation of such a hierarchy in Rukigo was much more complicated, and encountered severe pit-falls. Even here, it was the intention of the British to introduce 'Kiganda' administration staffed by Bakiga. Whether or not this intention was practicable is open to doubt, but in any case the system was not then attempted, and the immediate cause of the abandonment of the policy was the astute intervention of the leading agent in the district, Yowana Ssebalijja. According to the only available accounts, (36) (5) the most important of a series of barazas in which chieftainships were allocated, occurred in 1912. The Acting Political Officer, Captain Critchley Salmonson, instructed Ssebalijja to summon a meeting which the most influential local authorities were to attend. This placed Ssebalijja in an interesting and delicate position. A catholic from Masaka, he had served in the Ankole administration, from which he had been detached to serve as commissariat officer in the Kivu expedition, keeping open the supply lines between Mbarara and the Congo border. From 1908 until 1911, he had ordinarily been Britain's only contact with the Bakiga, and had acquired underfined but extensive political authority. By 1912 he was performing duties normally associated with an Assistant D.C. The meeting he was instructed to convene would (among other things) be charged with circumscribing Ssebalijja's power, and it must have been clear to him that he would be exchanging a position of direct and extensive power, for one in which he would, at most, supervise power exercised by others, as an Agent. Further, Salmonson's local knowledge was negligible, and he was in Muhumuza's campaign, but unable to say precisely who the leading Bakiga authorities were. Had Ssebalijja not taken advantage of his local knowledge, he would have been more than human. The four Bakiga who are known to have attended the meeting (other Bakiga also attended, but their names have been forgotten as they played no important part in proceedings) were Rwambuka, Rwagara, Turyabashaija and Ndyabawe. Rwambuka befriended Ssebalijja soon after the latter's arrival in Bakiga country, and they may even have become blood-brothers: Rwagara, one of the three who appealed to the British against Muhumuza, recalls that Ssebalijja warned him, that

the chieftaincy would be financially unrewarding, socially undesirable, and politically dangerous (II) (19): Turyabashaija and Ndyabawe are unknown, except that they were *abakuru* respectively of Basigi and Bahimba lineages, which means that the Basigi had three out of four representatives. It may be simply coincidence, or the incomplete nature of information, but there is no available record of Basigi resistance against the British until 1928.

The proceedings of the meeting confirm Rwagara's argument that Ssebalijja primed the Bakiga representatives. First, Salmonson announced his decision regarding the proposed allocation of power: he dealt with Rujumbura and Bufumbira as well, but these appointments have already been noted; regarding the Bakiga, he proposed to divide them into two *ssaza* counties, one to be administered by Rwagara and the other a Mukiga who had not yet been chosen: they would be responsible to the British through Ssebalijja as chief Agent. The subsequent trend of discussion is startling and will support only one interpretation. Rwambuka rose to request that Baganda be appointed as Advisers, in view of the incapacity of the Bakiga to govern by themselves (it had not been suggested by Salmonson that any other course be adopted, and Rwambuka may simply have got the wrong cue). Then Turyabashaija protested that Rwambuka was a most unsuitable chief, and suggested instead that the existing system be retained, whereby an *omukuru* wielded authority only over his own lineage group: he added that Ssebalijja could remain to supervise the administration conducted in these traditional terms. The Acting Political Officer protested feebly that his decision was final and that old enmities should be forgotten, but Turyabashaija's argument was endorsed not only by Ndyabawe, but also Rwagara himself, who denied any desire or intention to rule over a group of people large than his own lineage. Salmonson's proposal had therefore to be scrapped, the two proposed counties were amalgamated into one, with Ssebalijja as *ssaza* chief as well as chief Agent in Kigezi, and Baganda subordinate chiefs were also appointed, including Ssebalijja's son, Alison Walusimbi and another Muganda, Augustino Muddembuga. The Bakiga representatives went home no doubt congratulating themselves on their narrow escape from power.

Superficially, the changes looked more like reform than revolution, but they were based upon the crude political darwinism of British officials, who believed that "progress" involved the creation of large, centralised, tribal communities instead of a large number of autonomous groups. In Rujumbura the prince could not enthuse over his new status as *ssaza* chief, though the continued separation of Rujumbura from the rest of Kigezi delayed the limitation of his power and initiative. His subordinates, now expected to behave like good Baganda gomborora chiefs, must have felt the strain at once. In Kinkiizi it happened that a ruler became a gomborora chief, which was a severe change in status: the divinity which sometimes hedges kings cannot be said to hedge grade two civil servants. In Bufumbira, the change was felt more severely by the ruler than by his subordinates. Nyindo's demotion from virtually independent authority to a prestige-ful but supervised post in the upper reaches of the colonial hierarchy, is by no means parallel to the recognition of his subordinates as gombolola chiefs.

For one thing, these subordinate chiefs were not all Batutsi, and did not, therefore, have much traditional claim to authority: fewer gomborora chiefs in Bufumbira were of the prevailing aristocracy, than was the case in Rujumbura, and this may explain the fact that the gomborora chiefs in Bufumbira proved their loyalty to the British connection under the stress of the First World War. Further, the imposition of constraint over their immediate superior may even have given them a greater sense of personal security. Katuregye, as a sometime independent authority, does not fit into this category of chief. It is of some interest to note that the later public image of the Batutsi as pro-British and capable, largely depended on the actions of individuals who were assumed to be, but were actually not, Batutsi.

In Rukiga the gulf between general theory and actual practice was most obvious. Salmonson's 1912 proposals indicate that he intended to frog-march the Bakiga from their segmentary organisation into a centralised tribe: Ssebalijja's intervention had the effect, of bringing to Salmonson's attention the fact that political life among the Bakiga was likely to make the proposal unworkable. Whereas a society with a supra-lineage hierarchy of authority might perhaps be expected to comprehend the nature of the changes proposed, and might be expected to adapt themselves to new roles and attitudes, in a segmentary society it would be necessary both to create the posts and to instruct their incumbents. In a centralised society the problem looked deceptively simple: in a segmentary society it did not even look simple; Policy was also influenced by an official distinction something like that which Professor Ranger has observed, between 'establishment' and 'reforming' religions. (20) While officials had no objection to Makobore and Nyindo, whose temporal power was buttressed by religious belief, they drew the line at recognising nyabingi priests, even though *nyabingi* was thought to permit and encourage political centralisation. One dubious assumption — that *nyabingi* was subversive and reformist — con-tracted another dubious assumption — that *nyabingi* was a force in favour of centralisation.

One further aspect of the administrative machine must be observed, namely the fact that it was unworkable. The reasons for this vary from society to society, but can be summed up under two headings, the inherent falseness of the notion of equivalence, and the superficiality of official understanding of how administration worked even in Buganda. To deal with the first of these: various considerations influenced the British in their choice of agents for administration, notably the reliability of the individual as a loyal adherent of the British (9), the traditional legitimacy of the individual to hold office, and the question of fitting him into the appropriate post within a 'Kiganda' system, as equivalent as possible to the traditional post he already held. Of these three considerations, the first was not of much importance in Kigezi, the second has been observed and delineated by Dr. Twaddle in his study of Kakungulu, (12) but the third has not, I think, been sufficiently observed. In forming the Kigezi administration, the British 'recognised' only three ranks of chieftainship, the head, the ssaza chiefs and the gomborora chiefs. In part of what became

Rujumbura country, the tiny state of Kubumbu was too small even to become a gomborora country, and its ruler, Rubata, could not therefore fit into the hierarchy at all. (5) Muringa in Kayanza was fortunate to become a gomborora chief, since there was no lower grade in official existence and he might otherwise, like Rubata, have vanished from view (and power) altogether. Even when appropriate equivalent posts did exist in the terminology of the hierarchy, the mere translation of titles by itself achieved nothing. In Buganda it was hard enough for chiefs to conduct themselves in a manner which the British thought appropriate: how much more so in other areas? Makobore for example, had to choose between, or attempt to reconcile, the two roles of hereditary prince and British civil servant, in his capacity as hereditary ssaza chief. Not surprisingly, the more time passed, the more Baganda advisers and advice were required, not only by Makobore but also in Kinkiizi and Bufumbira. The very criteria of appointment tended to make it difficult for the candidate to become an efficient British civil servant.

The second reason was that the administrative animal created in 1912 had no official legs, and must therefore hover above the ground. The administration in Buganda depended on an administrative infrastructure of miruka chiefs. In Kigezi, the blue-print at first made no legal or budgetary provision for any authority of lower rank than gomborora chief — and in Bukiga there were only five of these. It was physically impossible for the gomborora chief, unaided and alien, to collect taxes, forced labour, court fines and criminals from all the people in his charge, or to pass on to them whatever information the district administration thought they should hear. Each gomborora chief, therefore, set about creating an infrastructure in his own sub-county, and the result was administration which was literally corrupt. Many chiefs (including Ssebalijja) imported friends and relations to act as miruka chiefs, or gathered about them a body of armed men to reinforce their control. Alternatively, or as well, among the Bakiga there already existed the *abakuru* of the lineage groups, who could often be pressed into service as subordinate chiefs. By the first world war, the latter had become common practice, following the prohibition of the employment of Baganda in lower posts than gomborora chiefs. (5) However, whether the chiefs were local or imported, the absence of budgetary provision for them meant a wide-spread recourse to illegal exactions. The minor chiefs, for instance, collected tax: in the absence of rupees, except in the possession of chiefs and agents, the chiefs could determine the exchange rate of goats, cattle and other possessions, and consequence could over-charge the peasantry and retain a considerable 'rake-off'. Until tax-receipts became common, there was no effective check on the chief's power to pass on a smaller sum than he collected. Similarly, forced labour equivalents, court fees and court fines, all provided funds from which a percentage could easily be taken. (5) Since the Bakiga were already accustomed to making presents to their own *abakuru*, it was the payments to Baganda which riled them most, and which made the Baganda seem responsible for all the corruption and embezzlement. The accusation, widespread then and common even now, that the Baganda were corrupt, is true but misleading: in the circumstances the chiefs could only control the local situation

and function as an administration on the basis of massive and almost universal embezzlement, on the part of the lower-level chiefs. During the tax-year 1913-1914, total revenue amounted to less than Rs. 2,000, of which more than half came from political fines, about a third from tax, with only 1% from court fines — figures quoted in descending order of plausibility. (21)

The attitude of the Protectorate government towards the employment of Baganda agents, advisers or chiefs in areas outside Buganda, was somewhat ambivalent. (12) From 1911 onwards, as Dr. Twaddle has shown, it was official policy to replace the Baganda as much, and as fast as possible. The fact that Baganda retained high office in Kigezi until 1930 is a remarkable demonstration of the degree of latitude allowed to individual District Commissioners, but it is not yet clear why the D.C.'s in Kigezi used their latitude in this direction. Generally it would be true to say that the British officials in each district became increasingly paternalist in their attitudes to 'their' local people. As this trend appeared, so the pretensions of D.C. paternalism became increasingly incompatible with the survival of Baganda as agents. However, it was not until after the first world war that D.C.'s in Kigezi felt confident enough to dispense with Baganda: before and during the war, they simply toyed with the idea and looked forward to the time when replacement could be attempted. The first proper D.C. arrived in 1913, the semi-articulate, opinionated and infinitely quotable Sullivan. He observed that the agents were exercising too much "liberty", and the local people too little. As short-term remedies, he decided to circumscribe and define the powers of chiefs, and to dismiss one particularly flagrant extortioner. As a long-term remedy, however, he hoped that the Baganda could be dispensed with. When he cast around for suitable successors, however, he gave clear evidence of being influenced by the crude political evolutionism which was well-nigh universal among the officials. "I wish it to be clearly understood" he insisted, "that with the exception of the Batussi..., there are no persons in the District of sufficient intelligence to act as chiefs, in the sense of the word, as used among uncivilised (sic) tribes elsewhere: hence anything in the nature of native (i.e. non-Baganda) administration is difficult both to start and to carry out." He proposed, nevertheless, to make maximum use of local talent. (21) This was one of the few pieces of British policy which directly benefitted the Bakiga more than other groups, since the effects of the policy varied as between the countries of Kigezi. The Bahororo in Rujumbura stood to gain nothing, since they already occupied the local administrative posts, subject only to an Adviser: as a matter of fact their later demise was fore-shadowed in an attack made by Sullivan on the Bahima in general and Makobore in particular, who were accused of being unreliable instruments of British authority. Curiously, not only did Sullivan threaten Makobore with deportation, but also took the opportunity to cast aspersions on his traditional legitimacy, which would suggest that the concepts of legitimacy and suitability were mixed in an official mind. The policy had no important effect in Kinkiizi either, where the chiefs proved amenable to British control, but incapable of adding much power to British rule in the country. In Bufumbira, as in Rujumbura, the chiefs stood to gain nothing, again

Sullivan fore-shadowed future trends. In describing the Banyarwanda, he admitted that the Batutsi were intellectually superior to the Bahutu, but argued that, while the Bahutu were "great agriculturalists; the Batutsi are of no economic value, their chief asset seems to be a remarkable attainment in the art of high-jumping." Assuming-wrongly — that the Bufumbira chiefs were all Batutsi, Sullivan had no intention of replacing them, but neither would he contemplate an extension of rule by high-jumpers elsewhere in the District. Perhaps the most striking aspect of his thinking is the value he attached to agriculture. Cultivation was conceived to be an activity which either conferred virtue on, or required virtue of, the practitioner. He described the Bakiga, for example, as "thickly populated race of very fine physique and agriculturalists." Perhaps it was the virtuousness of cultivation which led him to believe that the intellectual gap between cultivators and pastoralists might be overcome by intense administrative education. It was at this point that he prohibited the employment of Baganda below the levels of ssaza and gomborora chiefs and introduced a system whereby Bakiga were appointed to posts from which they might observe Kiganda administration at close quarters. This reform would he hoped prove "an excellent means of training the natives eventually to manage their own affairs, which is at present quite an impossibility." (21)

Localisation.

The First World War affected the Bakiga and the minorities, regarding expectations of power, in two distinct ways. First the minorities. As soon as war broke out, Nyindo followed the advice of his half-brother the Mwami, accepted the fact that the Germans were going to win, and threw in his lot with them. (7) Although several non-Batutsi gomborora chiefs remained loyal to the British, and although the revolt was not anti-colonial nor anti-white, so many of Nyindo's subjects joined him that the actual effect of the revolt was to discredit most of the elite. Many of the Batutsi who were eligible for chieftaincies, were discredited. After the war, it was found necessary to import a cousin of the Mwami's, from Rwanda, to fill the post vacated by Nyindo. (22) Katuregye also rebelled, though his revolt seems to be an assertion of pre-colonial independence. (5) In the North-East, Makobore was suspected of sedition and soon after the war he was replaced by his son. In Kinkiizi, the ex-king, now gomborora chief, Muringa, was suspected of joining the Germans, and was deposed and deported for five years, before resuming his post. (23) In other words nothing happened in the North to alter the opinion expressed in every report by every D.C., that the chiefs were either incompetent or disloyal or both.

The Bakiga require more attention. Until 1917 they remained astonishingly quiescent, and even the events of 1917 involved very few. Katuregye's revolt was demonstrably un-typical, since his position was beyond the pale of Bakiga tradition. The continued presence of Baganda rulers, the necessity of providing large numbers of porters, and the perpetuation of the whole 'corrupt system', did not move them to rebellion even when opportunity presented itself. No doubt the memory of Muhumuza was recent and vivid, but this would appear an insufficient explanation: lack of

a large scale, the fact that no leaders had been down-graded as Makobore and Nyindo had been, may all be part of the explanation. At any rate, there was no considerable revolt until 1917. (5) The Nyakishenyi Incident, however, (24) exhibited one feature which was damming — the involvement of Ntōkiibiri, a *nyabingi* priest from the Bahunde beyond the border, and the fact that *nyabingi* was the organisational principle of the revolt. The immediate reaction of the D.C. was to revive the old 1911 stereotype view of *nyabingi* and the Bakiga. "As regards the cause of the rebellion I consider this was directly due to the machinations of witch doctor Kaigirwa, and possibly others with her. The 'Nyabingi' cult has never yet failed to find a following in this district (i.e. Kigezi, not just the gomborora in which the out-break occurred)" Kaigirwa was thought (wrongly) to be Ntōkiibiri's sister, and the revolt itself to be anti-white. (25) The most damaging suspicion against the Bakiga, thus revived, clung to them for many years afterwards, and seemed to damn their prospects of internal promotion conclusively.

In 1920, then, the year for which full information regarding chiefs is available conveniently, the minority groups had begun to lose their local hold, but the trend was not strong; while the Bakiga had recorded no obvious advance, and indeed seemed unlikely to. On 1st May 1920, the position was as follows: (26)

Post	Pay (per month)	Incumbent's name,	age	Title of Post
Rukiga	Sh. 93.75	Yowana Seruwanga, Kago	63	Owesaza
1. Bukinda	26.50	Sowedi Muyamba	49	Munyuka
2. Butale	25.00	Stephano Musoke	35	Sabadu
3. Kikungiri	25.00	Edward Kagubala	35	Sabagabo
4. Nakishenyi	20.00	Paulo Musoke	29	Sabawali
5. Maziba	15.00	Stephano Alibaziwonye	28	Musale
6. Kitanga	20.00	Ilera Mwangawanga, 'Kabuyi'	28	Mutuba I
7. Nalusanje	15.00	Ibrahimu Njuba	30	Mutuba II
8. Kumba	15.00	Daudi Mukasa	28	Mutuba III
Rujumbura	30.00	(Aliseni Walusimbi)	28	Agent
		Makobore	60	Owesaza
1. Kagunga	5% rebate	"	"	Mumyuka
2. Nagageme	Vacant		-	Sabadu
3. Kasesse	5% rebate	Karegyesa, (son of Makobore)	28	Sabagabo
4. Kebisoni	5% rebate	Semei Kalukubira	30	Sabawali
5. Buyanga	5% rebate	Lwabambali	28	Musale
6. Ruhinda	5% rebate	Sakibu Zake	30	Mutuba I
Kinkiizi	27.00	Sulimani Ntangamalula	36	Owesaza
1. Kinkiizi		"	"	Mumyuka
2. Kambuga	5% rebate	Lwamusisero	30	Sabadu

		<i>Nekemiah Mwangawanga</i>	30	Sabagabo
3. Ruanga	5% rebate	<i>Luka Kisingiri</i>	32	Sabawali
4. Kayonza	12.00	<i>Sadi Mukasa</i>		
		<i>(Erasto Musoke)</i>	32	Agent (Previously advising Nyindo)
	Katikiro +			
<i>Bufumbira</i>	56.25	<i>(Vacant-Intebe ye Bufumbira)</i>	-	Owesaza
		<i>Alikisi Zikale</i>	29	Sub-Agent (Previously advising Katuregye).
1. Bufundi	20.00			
		<i>Musakamba</i>	63	Mutwale
2. Kigezi	5% rebate	<i>Miserero (Kanamihigo)</i>	35	Mutwale
3. Nyarusiza	5% rebate	<i>Kibaba</i>	25	Mutwale
4. Busanza	5% rebate	<i>Ruvaiyagwa (Abd-ur-Rahman)</i>	25	Mutwale
5. Chai	5% rebate			
6. Bukimbiri	5% rebate	<i>Ziribugiri</i>	28	Mutwale

Katikiros: Dwenya, in Kigezi; and Biterahoga, in Busanza.

Note: Non-natives are italicised.

In Rukiga, all the gomborora posts were in alien hands. Though Ssebalijja himself had been retired, no Mukiga had been promoted. However, the displacement of indigenous chiefs in the other counties is of greater immediate significance, and the problem of finding substitutes was to some extent combined with the general question of who was to succeed the Baganda and other none-native chiefs elsewhere. The days of the Baganda were numbered, of course. Philips, the D. C. in Kigezi, illustrates this general phenomenon rather neatly. In his annual report for 1919-1920, having commented on the introduction of "the gombolola system" (which regularised local councils in the sub-counties), he observed that he had dismissed Ssebalijja and four of his kin, for maladministration and undue emphasis on family and Kiganda interests. Entirely overlooking the fact that the Baganda agents were British civil servants first and Baganda Christian or Muslim only after that, he congratulated himself on the tranquillity of the district and attributed this to the "director touch between the European and the local native," as opposed to the old corrupt system run by the Baganda. (27) It is of some interest to observe that it was the incompatibility of the pretensions of each, rather than maladministration, which provoked the dismissal. From then on, it became official policy to limit the number, power, influence and language of the agents and to localise staff as swiftly as possible.

On the question of who should succeed, Philips had no doubts whatever — they must be Batutsi from Bufumbira. In 1920 he was called upon to recommend measures required to prevent a recurrence of events like the Nyakishenyi Incident, and his proposals, as retailed by the Provincial Commissioner, are worth quoting extensively. They were: (28)

1. Gradual Civilisation of the District.
2. The levelling up of administration on both sides of the international frontiers.
3. Abstention from pressure of tax or labour in frontier areas.
4. Increased tolerance of the Ruanda Imandwa (anti-Nyabingi institution).
5. Employment of Batutsi the hereditary rulers wherever possible.

Nos: 1 and 2 are a matter of time and Nos: 3, 4 and 5 have been laid down and placed on record as general policy . . .

As practical and concrete safeguards I would further recommend that next year from August 1st until the end of December the usual period of unrest and disturbance, 20 extra police be sent . . ." It is not surprising that when *nyabingi* seemed the most important obstacle to British control, Philips should propose what amounted to a local alliance between the apparent forces of order. The new policy manifested itself immediately, and in three directions. Nyindo's vacancy needed to be filled. The man whose administrative experience had been in Rwanda itself, and who was not known personally to the British authorities: but his back-ground was considered to make him eminently eligible, and the fact that he was a Tutsi meant (in Philips's conviction) that he was hostile to *Nyabingi* (28). Secondly, Philips resolved to start a school in Kabale, specifically for the sons of Batutsi chiefs, who were invited to take up a free place for one son of each chief: and in deference to the chiefs' expressed view that Christianity was too high a price to pay for education the school was non-secular. (29) Thirdly, in proposing to divide Kigezi into spheres of religious influence, Philips revealed the extent of his predilection for Batutsi as rulers. The Catholics were to be offered the Banyarwanda and Bakiga: the Catholics were already strong among the Banyarwanda, while Protestant influence was thought (wrongly, as it happened in Kigezi) (30) associated more closely with Baganda. "The Bakiga (who were under the Ruanda kingdom) dislike Baganda, but like and are accustomed to Banya-Ruanda." (27) In short, the old view which linked disorder, hostility to the Batutsi, *nyabingi* and anti-colonialism, was not only an article of faith, but also a guide to action (though the religious spheres idea came to nothings).

All of which begs the question — if Philips was so powerful and so Tutsophile, how did he fail to bring about Batutsi administration? It would be gratifying to explain that it was the very success of the Batutsi and

Bahima, in presenting themselves as rulers by right of conquest and long residence, and that this success lead directly to their being classified as 'aliens' for taxation purposes from 1923 onwards. But the explanation is, unfortunately, less poetically just and more complex. For convenience, the Bahororo of Rujumbura may be dealt with first, as logical contenders for the Baganda places. At the end of 1920, Makobore was replaced by his son Karegyesa, who swiftly established himself as the model ssaza chief. Faced with the dilemma of behaving as a British civil servant or as traditional and hereditary ruler, he opted firmly for the first: he was described as young, energetic and having "Broken away from the retrograde habits of his father". (31) He even went so far as to insist on the Bahima cultivating potatoes; (5) Nevertheless his acceptability as a chief was largely an index of the degree to which he dissociated himself from the Bahima as a whole. Every annual report commented adversely on the Bahororo and especially on the Bahima, but that of 1922 is most specific in its criticism: "The Bahororo generally are an unsatisfactory tribe of poor physique and little promise of improvement. The attitude of the Bahima element towards Kalegessa caused the suggestion first to be made of raising their poll tax to Shs. 10/- in 1923..." (32) The rise of Karegyesa to power and favour, then, is misleading, since the other important post in Rujumbura proved consistently hard to fill, and the incumbents proved consistently unsatisfactory to the Kabale administration, presumably because the gulf between traditions and colonial behaviour for chiefs proved very hard to bridge. In Kinkiizi the problem was even more acute, and some chiefs were recruited from Rujumbura.

The first Mukiga gomborora chief in Bakiga county was appointed seeming success of the administration in suppressing the manifestations of *nyabingi* among the Bakiga. Spirit huts and the wearing of charms vanished from view: the administration in practice tried to suppress all traditional religious practices, whether *nyabingi* or *emandwa* or anything else, so what the officials took to be signs of extinguishing *nyabingi* were actually signs of all traditional religion going underground. (33) Combined with this visual change, is the fact that after Nyakishenyi there were no more risings until 1928, and no further signs of *nyabingi* as political force at all, though various cases of witch-craft did come to the attention of officials, who tended to describe such cases as 'moderate' and 'non-political'. As the power of *nyabingi* appeared clearly to be on the wane, so the *anti-nyabingi* alliance declined in importance and ceased to determine internal policy in quite the same way as before. The consequence is that the Batutsi declined in political value, to a point comparable with that of the Bahima, and were classified accordingly in 1923 for tax-remittances. And in the decision the Tutsi version of Kigezi history no doubt provided a rationale for discrimination against them.

The second circumstance is similar to that which operated against the Bahima, that the apparently easy transition from traditional to colonial chiefly behaviour proved hard to pass. Until 1924 at earliest Nirimbilima required the presence of a Muganda adviser in order to carry out administration in the new approved manner. Of the gomborora chiefs, the 1920

figures illustrate that, apart from Musakamba and Miserero who were relics of the 1912 settlement and who were non-Batutsi anyway, it was necessary to employ chiefs in their middle twenties, which indicates the difficulty of finding a continuous supply of mature and reliable men in the country.

Whereas the Bakiga proved able to produce precisely the sort of man required. By the early twenties at the latest, as a result of the organisation of an infrastructure of power within each gomborora, first by individual chiefs and then as a matter of policy, a corps of chiefs came into being throughout Kigezi, from whom gomborora and ssaza chiefs could be drawn by promotion. The figures for 1923 are revealing: there were a total of 133 bakungu chiefs, of which 48 were in Rukiga, 28 in Rujumbura, 28 in Kinkiizi and 29 in Bufumbira. (34) Almost all the 48 bakungu in Rukiga must have been Bakiga, and some in Bufundi gomborora of Bufumbira, and some in southern Kinkiizi were probably Bakiga as well. Once the principle of using local men for local administration was put into practice (without apparently being discussed, approved or considered important by the District Commissioners) God and the future were on the side of the majority group. On one condition, of course: that they proved themselves capable agents of British administration.

The first Mukiga gomborora chief in Bakiga country was appointed as early as 1922, one Joseph Kalimalwaki: the date is remarkably early, within five years of Nyakishenyi and at a time when the Kabale administration was still nervous about religious risings. (23) There is no further mention of Kalimalwaki in Bakiga accounts of the period, and Bakiga date their local home rule to the years 1928-30. However, it is interesting that as early as 1922 there were Christian Bakiga available for administrative posts, trained and selected by Baganda chiefs, converted and given elementary education by Baganda chiefs and catechists for most part. (5) (30) The group of Bakiga which rose to gomborora and ssaza chieftaincies in 1928-30 is more interesting. In 1929, a batch of nine gomborora posts was localised, two in Bujumbura and seven in Rukiga. The Bakiga appointed were Paulo Ngologoza, Sulemani Rushuuga, Paul Kakwenzu, P. Binyindo, P. Muhimba, Asuman Kanyoonwa and Yowan Bukirwa. All were either Christian or Muslim, and since all had some experience as lower chiefs or assistants of Baganda agents in some form or another, it is reasonable to assume that the Baganda had some hand in selecting them. (5) Ngologoza, in fact, had first made contact with the Baganda as a domestic servant. (11) Towards the end of 1929, three Bakiga were appointed ssaza chiefs in succession to Baganda; Thomas Rwomushama and Mukombe became ssaza chiefs in Rukiga which was divided into two ssazas, Rukiga and Ndorwa respectively; and Paul Kangwagye became ssaza chief of Kinkiizi. (5) Their origins were similar to those of the gomborora chiefs — indeed they had been gomborora chiefs themselves, before the main batch was appointed in 1929. Mukombe and Kangwagye had distinguished themselves in British eyes by assisting in the 'pacification' and subsequent administration of Nyakishenyi: Mukombe had been an askari, and Kangwagye a local *omukuru*. (5) Generally speaking, however, the Bakiga gomborora and ssaza chiefs, unlike their Bahororo and Banyarwanda

counter-parts, had no prior claim, through family or class, to chieftaincy, and this may well be the sole and sufficient explanation for their ability to give satisfaction to the British. It may well be the sufficient explanation of the rise of the Bakiga: sooner or later Bakiga were bound to be given authority in some form, and when such occasion arose they were better equipped to take the opportunity than were members of societies where there was a long-standing tradition of chieftainship to divide the loyalty and personality of the chiefs as civil servants.

The Bakiga are a classic case of possessing no positions of wide power and prestige traditionally, and therefore being uninhibited in pursuit of the new positions. Baxter comments on the competitiveness of the Bakiga for these posts, and on the consequence that the successful candidates tended to be magnetic personalities, the real cream of Bakiga talent. (15) That last statement requires some modification, since other positions of power and prestige did become available, in the Catholic and Protestant churches, and to a lesser extent in Islam: It is generally believed though statistical support is not available, that those who entered the Churches were often of 'better' families than those who entered local government. This may well be the case, but whether or not it is true, the Bakiga generally took great pride vicariously in the initial ambition of taking over the posts enjoyed by Baganda authorities. Therefore the Bakiga were banging on the colonial (or Western religious) doors, demanding admission. This seems much more significant than the ephemeral increases brought about first by Muhumuza and later (in 1928) by Muzaire Kasente. (5) Again, increasing the scale of political organisation, by accepting the increased scale imposed by the colonial authorities, is parallel to, and probably related to, the increasing sense of tribal identity which was so significantly lacking in pre-colonial times: but it would be impossible to give dates for this process, or even to explain it without a mass of evidence.

Ironically, the man who presided over the 'Home Rule for Bakiga' period was Phillips, who was re-appointed to Kigezi as District Commissioner. Understandably, he did not mention that he had previously agitated for 'Home Rule by Batutsi', and he has become an important figure in Bakiga hagiography, as the man responsible for chasing the Baganda from Kigezi. (5) (11) (19) Instead, he chose to encourage the hostility of the Bakiga against the Baganda: at the secret meeting with the batch of nine gomborora chiefs before they were publicly appointed, he warned them that if they did not rule in accordance with Philips's precepts, he would recall the Baganda to rule instead. (15) This use of the Baganda as bogey-men is not only dishonest and typical of the official preoccupation with tribe as opposed to any other reference group — It was also exceptionally effective, and it has become an article of Bakiga faith since that time, that all the excesses, abuses and humiliations associated with early colonial rule are attributable to the Baganda, and that it was because the agents were from Buganda that they behaved in the way they did (or rather that they behaved in the way they are now thought to have done). In short, one of the major reasons for Kigezi being a 'success story' from the British colonial point of view, is that scape-goats were found for the necessary harshness of the early years, and were — between 1928 and 1930 — ritually exorcised.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Religious Impact of Yohana Kitagana.

By J. Nicolet.

What follows is an extract from a manuscript written by Father Nicolet, W. F., who wrote substantial, detailed accounts of many pre-colonial events in Kigezi and Ankole. A summary of Kitagana's early career has been extrapolated from Nicolet's document, which is then presented verbatim for the concluding stages of Kitagana's career.

Yohana Kitagana was born before 1860, on Busi island in lake Victoria, and therefore in Mawokota saza of Buganda kingdom. He belonged to the Mmamba (i.e. lung-fish) clan, and his family probably originated in the Ssesse islands. As a youth he was known as Nkalabako. He was tall, slender, dignified and imposing. He was also intelligent, resourceful and iron-willed. For some years after the introduction of Christianity to Buganda in 1878 he resisted its appeal, being in any case 'the husband of five wives and a concubine. Eventually in 1896, having put aside his female dependants, he was baptised a Catholic at Kasubi. He settled at Mitala-Maria, became a chief, and emerged as a considerable personality. During Holy Week 1901 he told Father R. F. Laane that he wished to become like the apostles. He abandoned his chiefly career, and proceeded with Father Streicher to Hoima in Bunyoro. From there he went to live among the Chope, to spread the Gospel. At the end of 1901 he was enrolled in the first class of catechists at the Rubaga Mother-Mission. After the year's course he went to Mbarara, and from there to Bunyaruguru in western Ankole. His work there was hindered by the activity of Baganda administrators, who rapidly became unpopular; and it was only in 1908 that conversion began.

Father Nicolet's account now continues:

To the south-west of Ankole extends a vast region known partly under the name of Mpororo and partly Kigezi. This region is very hilly, healthy and densely populated with a very primitive people. Until 1910, it had remained a neutral zone where there were Germans, English and Belgians. In 1910, the delineation of the frontiers placed this region within the Protectorate of Uganda. It was included in the Apostolic Vicariate of Mgr. Streicher.

From that time the question of the evangelization of this difficult region arose. The Mission at Bunyaruguru had just been founded and begun to receive its first resident missionaries. This allowed Mgr. Streicher to withdraw Yohana from Bunyaruguru, where he had done so much good,

and to send him to begin again his favourite task of pioneering for Christ in new terrain.

Yohana did not need to be asked twice.

As soon as he received the news he began by settling in Mpororo at Kagamba, of Kajara. Following a recent revolt which had brought burning and blood to the area, the Administration had put Mpororo into the hands of foreign chiefs. One of them, Yohana Sebalijja, was an eminent man from all points of view, a convinced and active catholic. Thanks to him the first steps of evangelization had already been taken. It was with this chief — an intimate friend of his — that Yohana initially resided. He took in hand the local work so well launched by Yohana Sebalijja, contacted the population, visited the villages, and came to know the whole countryside. He realized that the work of the Church was going to come up against Protestant influence, especially political, which would offer serious difficulties. The Mbarara Fathers came there less frequently than they would have liked. Until a better arrangement could be made, a network of small bases, mostly with resident catechists, was established. Yohana put life into this budding Christianity and directed it.

Hardly had the work of Christ begun to consolidate its first efforts in Mpororo than it became imperative to introduce it further to the south, into an uneasy region, known since under the name of Kigezi.

Kigezi is a conglomeration of four small countries, geographically, ethnically and politically distinct, which the necessities of Administration had joined together into a single district. At the time hardly any Europeans had penetrated there. The area was very rugged, with a population which was hard-working but very independent and of violent ways. The Uganda Government had just given the great catholic chief, Yohana Sebalijja, the responsibility of beginning work there, with a view to bestowing upon this primitive country a minimum of organization, until something better could be done.

From the end of 1911, first Mgr. Streicher, then Father Le Tohic and Lafleur made very difficult journeys through the mountains to explore and make contacts. But the work had to go deeper. Once again, Yohana Kitagana was the man of Providence. He took his long, famous, apostolic stick, his bundle, and accompanied by a young boy, Yohana began his tours through "Rukiga". Good Sebalijja was certainly ready to help. However, our catechist, not wishing to seem dependent on a man of the civil Administration, made himself visit personally the principal families in the area. He was so worthy, so fundamentally good, so much a man of God in all things, that he very soon attracted strong and deep sympathies. He was known by the name "Omuleju", that is to say "The Bearded One" (because of the beard he wore.)

There, as elsewhere, the mainspring of his action was first and foremost prayer. His long rosary rarely left his hand. Next, charity, as seen in his

goodness, his generosity, his interest in the poor and the sick, his love of work, his complete impartiality, his total lack of arrogance towards primitive people. He knew that nothing is more incompatible with apostleship than scorn and disdain, whereas understanding, self-adaptation, compassion for the weak... make a stranger into a friend and further his apostolic work. Natives, even if primitive, are always hospitable to a visitor in whom they recognize a friend. They are generous in their offer of food and provisions. Is this way Yohana was made welcome in many parts. Every where and always, directly or discretely, he managed to leave a few grains of "Good seed".

At this time, everyone in Kigezi was bewitched by the influence of one great lady, a rebel against all authority which was not her own, a remarkably intelligent witch-doctress, cunning, insinuating, and with tremendous prestige. The country was restless and revolt endemic. Her name was Nyira-Gahumuza and she claimed to be possessed by a very fearsome spirit called Nyabingi.

It did not take Nyira-Gahumuza long to realize that those who adopted the Christian religion were fatal enemies to her own influence, and therefore to be eliminated. For Yohana she was a sort of "bête noire", and those who prayed with him were no less for her and her followers.

In spite of everything, the work of our catechist and his few collaborators made great strides. After a few years, beginners and catechumens could be counted in thousands. Chapel schools, still humble grass constructions, grew in number in many villages. As the followers of religion become more zealous, so Nyabingi's followers were heard more often, too. Yohana was the inspiration, the father and guide of this young, but very lively Christianity.

Although they were 150 km. away, the missionaries from Mbarara, the nearest mission, came to visit Kigezi from time to time. They administered the sacraments, gave appropriate instructions and offered the advice they thought opportune. But the ordinary everyday apostolic work was directed by Yohana. The necessity of founding a missionary post there became clear. However, the 1914 War delayed this project until 1923.

During those long, difficult years, the work met a host of obstacles. Protestants settled in the area, with considerable material means. Their action brought to Kitagana numerous and sometimes very delicate problems. He suffered to see the work of the Church faced with such a formidable adversary. A simple native, he found himself in conflict with the Protestant Mission which was well-equipped and secure in official protection, directed by a group of eminent Europeans, rich in all human resources. Kitagana had none of these resources; but he was convinced that the Church alone was in possession of the Truth and of divine Grace; that by prayer and work, and a profound spiritual life, triumph would nevertheless come. And indeed, with the combined action of the two Yohanas — Kitagana, the

great catechist, and Sebalijja, the catholic chief — they managed to hold their own: in quantity and quality, the Catholics had the upper hand.

At last in 1923, at the end of November, three missionaries (Father J. Laane and J. Nicolet, and Brother Theophile) arrived to found a mission at Kabale. Yohana Kitagana was delighted: his great wish had been realised! The fathers found there a fine Christianity flourishing, with nearly a thousand people baptized and a few thousand catechumens.

Although he was well over sixty, Yohana did not feel he could rest on his laurels. His ambition was to push even further the great work to which he had dedicated his life. He wanted to lay at least one more foundation.

Some 80 km. to the west of Kabale, there was an area called Bufumbira, which was densely populated, dependent of Rwanda by virtue of its race and language. In order to reach it, one had to cross the large, beautiful Lake Bunyoni, then travel through a huge baoboo forest and follow a track which climbed to almost 3,000 metres, to the summit of Bihunge. Bufumbira had a bad reputation. A country with splendid panoramas but very harsh, and the people of ill-repute.

From the point of view of Christianity, nothing had been attempted there. Yohana Kitagana, accompanied by another excellent catechist, wanted to tackle such a venture for love of Christ and for the souls of men...

Early in 1924, a small caravan took Kitagana and his companion, Auguste Kapere, towards Bufumbira. After two trying days through mountains and valleys, they arrived at a place called Kidwa, on the shores of Lake Mutanda. They stayed with the inhabitants for a few days, to have time to find their bearings. Then they had to build themselves a hut of mud, and erect a temporary chapel of reeds.

Obtaining and bringing on foot all the necessary materials, then the building, took our pioneers only a matter of two or three weeks. Already the "Prayer Drum" had resounded, calling to catechism. The beginning was laborious: indifferent surroundings, people unsympathetic to innovations, slow in making decisions and not very persevering. But the kindness of our catechists, the numerous visits which they made among the natives to become acquainted with them — and the help of the grace of God — soon brought them a small nucleus of "praying ones", composed mainly of children. As they had to sustain themselves, those in need, and the orphans who would soon arrive, they devoted several hours a day to cultivation. Our catechists knew how to wield a hoe; they were experts in good agricultural methods; their plantations of bananas, sweet potatoes, maize, beans etc. . . convinced the inhabitants that the new-comers were far from lazy, and that they had decided to stay in the area.

Their life of prayer and work was a fine example for these poor people "born Tired". They had never seen such important men as these strangers.

seizing a spade and digging with such tenacity, and with such wonderful results!

Yohana took care not to forget that material charity is one of the surest and most direct ways of reaching the soul. At Kidwa, as at Bundayuguru and at Kabale, he treated sickness and especially wounds free of charge. Then, while his companion took care of the day-to-day work of their new evangelical station, Kitagana toured the numerous and beautiful villages of the region, to ascertain which centres looked most promising for further posts as the means became available...

Several times Father Nicolet came from Kabale to visit his children at Kidwa, and to become better acquainted with this interesting country. His frequent tours in the company of Yohana led him to doubt that Kidwa was the ideal place for the future Mission... Once again Yohana was the wisest and most enlightened advisor of the missionary. Finally, Mutolere Hill was chosen. The ecclesiastical authorities and those of the Protectorate approved the choice. Mutolere supplanted Kidwa as the central catechetical establishment, until at the end of 1929, Fathers Nicolet, E. Klep and Brother Simon came to establish a permanent post which was to become the splendid Mission there today.

Meanwhile there was small group of good catechists. Yohana helped them to settle into well-situated centres; then he left them under the immediate control of his faithful collaborator, A. Kapere. He himself had to return to Kabale, where the Father Superior had need of his services. However, each term when Father Nicolet made his regular visit to Bufumbira-Matolere, Yohana was invariably his loyal and valuable travelling companion.

From 1930, old age — he was almost an octogenarian — obliged our hero to be more sedentary. His deeply religious life intensified even more. While remaining the advisor and right arm of the missionaries, the friend and father of all, he lived like a monk.

A few notes made by one of his best collaborators, the native catechist, Rafaeli Kabukure:

"When I, Rafaeli Kabukure, arrived at Kabare, in 1915, and found Yohana there, I saw that he was truly a man of God. His words were not vain words. They were precious to all those who heard them. With his manner of teaching, never a day passed without our hearing words which gave strength to our hearts. His lips only uttered the words of a father.

His manner of working was admirable. This man who was already old, used a hoe better than anyone. He did not know what rest was. Then he was always walking through the famous mountains of Rukiga. There was not a valley nor a hill which he had not crossed. Of his actions the most beautiful was prayer. He often spent the whole night reading and meditating the Gospel. Then, as the cock crowed, he extinguished his lamp

and made his way to the chapel, where he prayed until daybreak. One would have thought that Providence had exempted him from sleep... and when he taught the Faith, one would have thought he held the whole of religion in his head.

He took very little food. Not more than two bananas. No sauce, even if there happened to be a very good one. Sometimes he went as many as ten days without touching any "busera" (a kind of boiled native drink). His clothing consisted of an animal skin. He only put on his white gown on Sundays. He was not interested in fine clothes. What did concern him was finding the means for helping the orphans, who he collected from all parts... To the sick his charity was boundless. He prayed for them and sought to find them some cure. There were not yet any hospitals or dispensaries in this part of the country. And God visibly blessed his cures. Accompanying him on his tours, I have often witnessed this fact:

One day when we were in Kijuguta village we found a patient with a severe attack of dysentery. He was lying down. As soon as he saw Yohana the poor man cried out. "Oh! Master! There you are! Thank you for coming to see me! But I am dying! Only give me a cure which will save me."

Yohana urges him to have trust in God, and to accept his will, whatever it may be... Then he turns to me, and says, "Let us go out and find a medicine." He picks a few leaves from bush called "omusoroza", crushes them between two stones, and brings the medicine to the patient. "Rub your hands with this," Yohana tells him, "Have trust in God, and you will be cured." The sick man rubs the medicament in his hands. As for me, I was thinking: "What use will that be?" For, convinced of the inefficacy of this "omusoroza" in such a matter, I was inwardly scorning this... We return home. The next day this man arrives: he has come to thank Yohana for curing him! And Yohana congratulates him, as is the native custom, then tells him it is God he must thank, not him... Myself, I was full of admiration for the way God hears the prayers of his servant, Yohana. Expressing my surprise, he replied, in all simplicity, "My child, everything is possible to him who has faith."

A Father from the Mission asked Yohana if he would buy two other skins for him. The latter hurries to find them. However, judging the price exorbitant, he leaves them. He takes his rosary and prays... The next morning, two superb otters, which have left the neighbouring swamp during the night, are there, astray in Yohana's banana grove. He sees them and calls to us. We find him in the middle of reciting his rosary. "Come and help, children." We soon killed the two huge otters. We realized that the Good Lord had sent them. And that, Father, is one of the things which I. Rofaeli Kabukure saw with own eyes in the life of our Yohana Kitagana."

The religious influence of Yohana was enormous. In all things he saw the interest of God and men's souls. But this worthy pioneer of Religion did not ignore the material needs of the people and country which he evan-

gelized. He was convinced that a minimum of well-being is necessary for the practice of virtue just as St. Thomas says, moreover. Most of the chiefs liked to ask his advice. And he, while he respected in them the representatives of authority and received them with great dignity, did not hesitate to tell them his thoughts on the customs they should modify, the cultivation they should introduce, the methods they should use, the elementary principles of hygiene to observe in the construction and running of their homes, good administration of justice, etc. . .

The Protectorate officers knew him, thought well of him, learnt to profit from his experience, and, in many cases, did not scorn his observations. Also during his last years, the Government wanted to recognize officially his high qualities and noteworthy services rendered in Kigezi country; the Government decorated him, in the name of H. M. King George V, with the Distinguished Service Medal of the British Empire.

In May, 1939, this great old man, nearly 85 years old, this hero of Christ, was seized by the sickness which was to take him to the Master whom he had so loyally and generously served since the blessed day of his conversion. His illness, at first mild, resisted all treatment, then worsened, until July 27th 1939, when this good servant yielded up his fine soul to God in peace, after having piously received every help from the Holy Church.

During his illness Yohana had maintained his calm and the perfect possession of his soul in patience. Even then his rosary never left his hand, and he prayed continually to the Holy Mother. The many visitors who came to see him were exhorted to persevere in religion, and to love their neighbour and their country. To everyone he said that he was departing with complete confidence in God and in His compassion.

Yohana Kitagana was given an official burial in the cemetery at Kabale Mission, after a high mass for his soul's rest, a mass attended by native sisters, catechists, a huge crowd of chiefs, children and innumerable friends. Everyone accompanied him piously to his last resting place.

It is there that, since 28th July, 1939, beginners and catechumens faithfully kneel round the grave of their father, a grave decorated with flowers in veneration. All are convinced that the Good Lord has received in Heaven the one they consider to have been a true saint of God. They like to send their prayers through their good "grandfather" and are sure that he obtains great blessings for them. . .

PART Four: Adaptation — from Rejection to Acquiescence.

When colonial administrators and missionaries first arrived, in the early years of the twentieth century, their pretensions were not taken seriously. By 1930, at the latest, all important groups in Kigezi had accepted the inevitability — if not the desirability — of the alien impact. It is extremely difficult, however, to try to provide a date for the change. Individuals and groups welcomed the British as soon as they arrived, regarding them merely as potential allies in purely local struggles. At what point these groups accepted the British as rulers, is difficult to say. Conversely, some groups collaborated on British terms, with a view to influencing colonial rule from within. In short, it is inevitably difficult to give dates for the moods of public opinion.

Nevertheless some important trends are reasonably clear. Mr. Kakiza, in chapter fifteen, has analysed the change in the nature of government in Rujumbura. Makobore, the hereditary ruler when the British arrived, attempted simultaneously to limit the degree of power exercised by the British, and yet to influence them against the ambitions of the Nkore dynasty, which hoped to incorporate Rujumbura into an expanded colonial kingdom of Ankole. As the power of the British steadily increased in his community, so Makobore found his position impossible. His people expected him to rule in the traditional manner; the British expected him to rule as a subordinate chief; he himself sensibly retreated from the conflict, and permitted the Muganda sub-agent to exercise power directly, rather than simply advise. His son E. S. Karegyesa, however, threw himself into role of colonial chief, and began energetically to 'improve' the people according to British criteria. Schools and churches were encouraged, agriculture and pastoralism were regulated by colonial knowledge and interests. Karegyesa himself probably had reservations about Christianity and 'improvement', but he realised the direction in which he and his people would have to move.

In part three it was suggested that the alien impact was religious as much as administrative. In chapter sixteen, therefore, Mr. Munyuzangabo examines the impact of Christianity in Bufumbira, and the reaction of local people to the religious innovations. One of the important points made in this chapter is that Christianity flourished best, when associated with Rwanda (in view of the historic links between Bufumbira and Rwanda), and when literary and technical education were offered in addition to straightforward evangelisation.

Chapter seventeen, by Mr. Mateke, briefly notes changes in the nature of power and politics in colonial Bufumbira. As in Rujumbura, so in Bufumbira, the colonial demands upon traditional rulers were revolutionary. Nyindo was therefore obliged to play a double game, being simultaneously the representative of his people *against* colonial impositions, and the representative of the colonial administration transmitting instructions downwards. He, like Makobore (and like Muginga II in Kayonza, as described in six) found the strain intolerable. So did his successor Nyirimbirima, who was caught in the same ambiguity. Only in the 1930's, when Mr. James Gica-

mwa assumed office, was the dilemma resolved. One of the first educated chiefs in the country, Gicamwa ruled as harshly as Karegyesa, regarding himself purely as a colonial official, and not as a traditional ruler. During this period also, the destiny of Bufumbira within the polity of Uganda was emphasised by the development of labour migration outwards to Kigezi and to western Ankole. Nevertheless, as late as the 1950's, the chiefs insisted upon an isolationist point of view, discouraging national political parties whenever they made their presence felt.

In chapter eighteen, Mr. Bananuka-Rukara tackles the ambitious project of tracing the changing attitudes of the Bakiga from the first arrival of the British, until 1930. He finds that, at first, there was absolutely no enthusiasm for the British as rulers, or for the missionaries either, except insofar as British would let themselves be used to settle local political feuds. The abrupt and complete dispersal of Muhumuza's army, however, illustrated the inequality between British fire-arms and local spears, and hostility had to be expressed with great caution. By emphasising the isolated acts of violent resistance, however, he makes it clear that the colonial takeover was not a popular episode. He then proceeds to examine the role of the Nyabingi cult in mobilising and organising resistance. Since colonial rule and Christianity were seen as two sides of the same coin, it is not surprising that Nyabingi and anti-colonialism were also intimately connected with each other. Nevertheless resistance was ultimately suppressed, and new strategies had to be developed. Bananuka-Rukara briefly suggests that the collaboration of individual Bakiga was a conscious attempt to infiltrate the colonial hierarchy with a view to demolishing it. If this was the intention, however, it was mistaken and soon forgotten. Working within the colonial structure, the local chiefs were assimilated into the ideas and purposes of the colonial rulers, becoming even more reliable and effective than their Baganda predecessors. Indeed the D.C.'s tended to appeal to local patriotism against the Baganda, in order to consolidate the alliance between local chiefs and the colonial administration.

Chapter nineteen is Mr. Rwandusya's lively and important autobiography. First as an askari, then as a pupil in the first school in Kigezi, and then in the first generation of local chiefs, he was one of the first Kigezi people to enter into the colonial structure. His generation has exercised a disproportionate influence in Kigezi's history, and the influences upon his mind are important to grasp.

Politics throughout this era remained severely local in focus, even as late as the 1940's and perhaps 1950's, when an awareness of the existence of Uganda was growing fast. Mr. Rwankwenda's career was very similar to that of Karegyesa, but on the smaller stage of Kayonza, rather than the large stage of Rujumbura. His father was the last hereditary ruler, and was ultimately deposed by the British, when he proved unable to resolve the dilemma which faced all hereditary chiefs in early colonial times. Rwankwenda himself, like Rwandusya, became a colonial bureaucratic chief. Nevertheless the focus of politics remained very small. Two letters, generously provided by Mr. Rwankwenda, have been added as appendices to the book. As late as 1942, Muringa hoped to be re-established, and to

resume his traditional powers, under British supervision. In the letter he usefully summarises his previous career. Secondly, as late as 1961 there was some local sentiment in favour of Rwankwenda as chief, precisely because of his birth and ancestry. It would seem, therefore, that the transformation of politics during the colonial period was less than complete, and that colonial rule often involved manipulation of local political forces by British officials, rather than the re-construction of society in the colonial image. Nevertheless the change must have felt very great, and we can do no better than quote the poignant song recorded by Mr. Baitwababo in Rujumbura:

Let us bemoan this our kingdom,
For it is no more.
Ruyonza and Nyamato are play-grounds:
Rukungiri is a drilling field for soldiers.

Editor.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RUJUMBURA UNDER DAUDI MAKOBORE AND HIS SON, EDWARD SULIMANI KAREGYESA: FROM 1885—1947.

by

S. R. KAKIZA.

The period of Makobore's rule:

1. *Pre-colonial rule:*

Makobore was the eldest son of Muhozi. His mother, Nyabuhoro, was of the Baitira clan. He was born at a place called Rwanyakashuru near Kagunga. His other brothers (by other wives of Muhozi) were Rukwira, Rugembe, Bushaija and Kacumu. His sister Ntimbiri was married to Ntare V, the Omugabe of Ankole. Makobore stood six feet tall, and possessed a gigantic size that rendered him immobile. He had to be carried about in a litter wherever he wanted to move to any of the places in his area. He was carried partly because it was a necessity and partly because it was the accepted fashion of the rulers of that time.

However, Makobore had had a more mobile and vigorous youth. He had distinguished himself in such manly qualities as fighting and wrestling. According to the informants who worked and stayed with him, Makobore was highly reputed as a born leader who possessed rare qualities in human relationships. All spoke of his noble character, his impartiality and generosity. He was also noted for bravery and able leadership. Unlike the Bahima and some Bashambo who were very autocratic in their rule, Makobore was genuinely committed to the fatherly care of his people no matter whether they were Bairu, ordinary Bahima or his own kinsmen. That impartial attitude, love of justice and fair play greatly enhanced his popularity and respect among all the section of the community.

Makobore had many wives — Mpekyenkyi, Nyabutyari, Byansheshe-mura and Bagaza. Some of his sons were Rwabambari, Karegyesa, Ruregye, Kasirabo and Rwamashonza. Makobore lived at Kagunga, the seat of his father, grandfather and great grand father. All the people, the Bashambo, the Bahima and the Bairu, had to go to Kagunga to pay their homage. They took with them gifts of food, beer and cows. The court of Makobore was always surrounded by all sorts of people including the Bashongore (the eminent Bahima), the Bambari (the eminent favourite Bairu) and the Batware (the ordinary Bahima who were appointed to take charge of Makobore's cattle). All his subjects called him such names as "Omukama wa Kagunga" which meant "the lord of Kagunga;" "Ruhamyia Bigyere" meaning "one who was always steadily and firm"; "Entare ya Kagunga" which meant "the lion of Kagunga"; they also praised him as "Rutatsyahwa" which meant "one who cannot be cowed". These were not mere empty praises and flatteries. They were genuine pet names which reflected some of his genuine qualities.¹

Makobore's political system and organization

Rujumbura did not adopt a consistent and systematic political system until the rule of Muhozi. The traditional accounts are agreed that the Muhozi-Makobore period of rule is remembered and emphasized because it was during this time that effective administration took shape.

From the clan traditions of the people of Kajara and Rwampara, A. Munyuzangabo found the Bahima and Bairu communities living in a similar relationship as those in Rujumbura in the pre-Bashambo era. The Bahima had a large measure of segmentary system in their political organization. He writes:

Among the Bahima just as among the Bairu, the lineage head arbitrated in any dispute which rose within the lineage.²

With the arrival of the Bashambo who were used to a centralized system, a new political system was evolved and it started operating in Muhozi's time. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bahororo were a centralized chiefdom whose social and political structures were very much different from the neighbouring Bakiga on the South-West, but very much like those of the Banyankole to the east. This may account for Makobore's fears about Rujumbura being incorporated into Ankole at the re-drawing of boundaries. He would have been submerged into the larger but similar system whereas if he stayed in Kigezi, he hoped to maintain some autonomy.

The administration of Rujumbura was organized in a hierarchical basis. At the top was Makobore to whom everybody owed allegiance, and he worked as the overall supervisor and ruler. Below him, he had a sort of Katikiro working as a Prime Minister in all day-to-day duties. This was a man called Miranda who had emerged from the Bairu and had started as a Mwambari. Miranda gained favours because he had distinguished himself as Makobore's military commander. He also had conducted trade relations and diplomatic negotiations between Rujumbura and Nyakishenyi in Rukiga, Kayonza and Kinkizi. When foreigners came to Rujumbura, it was Miranda who conducted the affairs of the chiefdom. His military prowess and diplomatic shrewdness had gained him exceptional fame in and outside Rujumbura. Under Miranda's office, there were Makobore's relatives who administered certain areas of the country. These had some form of semi-autonomous status, but they were ultimately answerable to Makobore at Kagunga. The areas administered by Makobore's relatives were:-

Buyanja was administered by Rukari	(Makobore's uncle)
Ruhinda was administered by Kinyina	(" ")
Kambuga was administered by Rwemisisiro	(Makobore's cousin)
Karangoro was administered by Kosire	(Makobore's uncle)
Kahoko was administered by Rwakirara	(" cousin)
Lower Nyakagyeme was " " Rwakishenga	(" cousin)
Upper Nyakagyeme was " " Rugembe	(" brother). ³

Below the Bashambu sub-lineage heads, there was the category of the Bashongore. These were Bahima favourites of Makobore. They functioned as Makobore's 'Privy Councillors' and his most trusted inner Cabinet and confidants. They escorted him on his 'tours, and formed the core of his judicial court whenever it went in session. The Bambari were at the base of the political administrative hierarchy. These were Makobore's Bairu favourites who were renowned for some particular talent or achievement, military prowess, rain-making, wealth, craft-making or religious function. Once they had become favourites they were treated in a special manner at the court of Makobore at Kagunga. Their function was to act as Makobore's informers and also as advisers. Occasionally some of them could be made administrative assistants.

Traditionally the Bambari attended Makobore's Court and performed certain ceremonial functions. They could supervise the collection of food and beer, which were taken to Kagunga, and they could be expected to take directives from Kagunga and communicate them to their members and ordinary folk. The Bambari had quite a number of roles. The Batware who looked after Makobore's cattle, were not a political group with a political function, but they played a secretive role of spying on the Bashambo sub-lineage heads and on the Bashongore. Makobore's system of government had smooth horizontal and vertical openings. There were no restrictions to a person rising up the political ladder. Makobore encouraged competition, and if any one did not get political reward, one at least competed for receiving some material good from Makobore so that one could be recognized as 'somebody' in the society. In most cases this reward had to be a cow.

In his capacity as the overall ruler, Makobore also was expected to provide protection against internal and external aggression. He was the fountain of wisdom and justice since he could command life or death. He presided over all the important court meetings at Kagunga and outside it, when he was on tour especially.⁴ The cases that were mostly referred to his court included murder, rape and arson. Makobore punished these crimes by passing a death sentence or by imposing a crushing fine. His success in this particular aspect largely depended on class discrimination.

Makobore's pre-colonial rule was characterized by three major events: the war with Nkore, the devastating epidemic diseases, and the advent of the Europeans. The war with Nkore has already been described.⁵ After the war with Nkore, Makobore went to Kambuga to allow himself a rest. Once the cat is away, the mice will play. At home, his brothers and cousins who were administering certain areas caused a lot of restlessness among the people. They maltreated the people and committed many brutal acts against both the Bairu and the Bahima. These happenings were reported to Makobore who lost no time in going back to Rujumbura to restore order.^{6a}

The Bahororo enjoyed a brief period of calm and steady recuperation from the war, but that brief calm was disturbed by the outbreak of rinderpest epidemic which plunged Rujumbura into gloom and despair. Following

this there erupted small pox which swept away hundreds of people. Rinderpest swept away all the cattle. It was Makobore alone who had six head of cattle left. The natural disaster to follow was famine which added fuel to the fire. Many people continued to die while efforts were being made to relieve the situation. Relief food and other materials were got from the less affected areas of Kambuga and Butumbi, and in parts of Nyakishenyi in Rukiga where Makobore's men raided for food and cattle. As time went on, things began to improve. Some food was grown and some cattle, goats and sheep were obtained from relatives and friends outside Rujumbura. By the time Europeans came, Rujumbura had regained some stability.^{6b}

The coming of the Europeans:

It is claimed that the first Europeans to go to Rujumbura were the two Germans, Emin Pasha and Dr. Stuhlmann who visited Makobore at Nyamizi around 1891.⁷ No one knows the object of their mission, but S. R. Baitwababo has postulated that they might have been seeking a treaty with Makobore, which they got.⁸ The Germans were followed by Belgians and killing people. From E. S. Karegyesa's record books, the following who are reported to have passed through Rujumbura plundering, looting information was recorded:—

The Belgians came to Rujumbura and built a camp at a place called Buharambo in Kagunga. They killed the royal princes and the ordinary people. They captured people's cattle and confiscated their property. From Buharambo they shifted and camped at a place called Nyakagyezi in Kambuga and stayed there for two years.

According to these record books, the Belgians were followed by the Germans who came from the direction of Rwentobo. They are reported not to have done any harm, but they claimed Rujumbura as being in their sphere of influence.⁹

Between 1900 and 1909 the British, too, operating from Mbarara made futile attempts to colonize Rujumbura on behalf of Kahaya II, the Omugabe of Ankole, and Nuwa Mbaguta, his Katikiro. Kahaya and Mbaguta were still convinced that Rujumbura should be part of Ankole, and having failed to use diplomatic means, they were determined to use force. But Makobore was adamant in his convictions and kept on evading and frustrating their efforts. No one knows exactly the names of the first British officials to contact Makobore except Baitwababo who suggests that the two men who visited Mokobore might have been Captain N. Coote and R. R. Racey.¹⁰ The Bahororo will only tell you of a white man called Kakiraminkyekye that is to say a man who appeared to tower above the bushes. E. S. Karegyesa recorded that:—

When the British came in 1909, they camped at Nyabuharo, and on the day they arrived, they arrested Makobore. They did not release him until fifty cows were paid as ransom. These whites

stayed on for six days after which they left for Ankole. They had been accompanied by Nuwa Mbaguta, the Katikiro of Ankole.¹¹

From the above information which is supplemented by the oral information gathered, there is no mention of the 1903 invasion of Rujumbura by Kahaya II described by Katate and Kamugungunu. The two writers state that in 1903 Kahaya II invaded Rujumbura and arrested Makobore, and that from that time Rujumbura ceased to be called a principality since Kahaya II ruled over Rujumbura and Kebisoni until Makobore requested the British that Rujumbura become part of Kigezi.¹²

But H. F. Morris puts the view which is supported by the Bahororo traditions. He writes :

Contact had however been made by the collectors with Makobore, the Mwine Kirenzi chief of Rujumbura, but he steadfastly refused to acknowledge the Omugabe as his ruler, maintaining with justice, it would seem, that his ancestors had never been subordinated to Nkore.¹³

Makobore continued to be harassed by the Europeans, especially the Belgians who, in 1910, made several incursions in Rujumbura. He, however, avoided them by constant hiding in the forests until he became so fed up with it that he decided to send Miranda, his Katikiro, to go and sue for peace on his behalf. The Belgian threat was removed when, by the 1911 Anglo-Belgian Agreement, Rujumbura was delimited as part of the British sphere of influence.

2. *Makobore and the British.*

The activities of the first Europeans in Rujumbura had left Makobore completely distrustful of their intentions. In his tussle with the Belgians, the Germans and the British respectively, Makobore had been subjected to various indignities in his efforts to resist their desire to impose their rule on him. Many of his subjects had been killed including his brother Rugambe, his cousin Rwakirara and another cousin called Rwakishenga who had proved intransigent about their authority and rights. Makobore, too, resisted the British Colonial administration throughout the ten years of his rule under them — from 1910 to 1920. He was always scolded and branded an 'idle man' "unprogressive" by the British officials at Kabale.¹⁴

The first Headquarters of the British officials in Kigezi were built in Bufumbira, the extreme south-west county on the Uganda-Rwanda border. In 1912, Kigezi District was set up and Makobore, who had made prior contact with the British in Bufumbira, had decided to opt for inclusion in Kigezi instead of Ankole. On the 26th October, 1912, Makobore was invited together with other eminent chiefs of Kigezi to attend a meeting for the allocation of the new chieftainships, and was confirmed the Saza chief of Rujumbura. He was also to take charge of a small principality of Kubumbu which had been ruled over by Rubaata.

He was given a Muganda agent called Farasisko Kiwanuka. It was considered that the work of the agents was vital if the initial problems of adaptation were to be overcome. The Baganda agents were literate and familiar with the type of administration the British wanted to adopt. This was the 'Buganda Model' of administration, which the British officials wanted Baganda agents to demonstrate and transplant in Kigezi as well as in other districts of Uganda. The British officials wanted the Baganda agents to act as intermediaries between the local chiefs and themselves.

Captain Coote writing in 1910, remarked:

"I consider the system of employing Baganda agents will prove the only method of administering the district. The Bakiga are split up into clans and recognize the authority of no chiefs, and my successor will find in Yohana Sebalijja an excellent, most trustworthy and reliable man to put in as head agent of the district."¹⁵

Putting the matter of excellency and trustworthiness aside, Rujumbura was not in such political disarray as the Bakiga: yet it is no surprise that the British insisted on the appointment of an agent in Rujumbura, who merely served to undermine the authority of Makobore and foment the troubles and conflicts that were to ensue later. In many ways the agent proved a mere tool and puppet of the British officials, who worked hard to please them and enhance his prestige at the expense of Makobore. Faranswa, as he was commonly known, turned out to be the effective ruler and this Makobore could not tolerate. The two often clashed in their duties especially as the roles were not clearly defined. Makobore only found that much of his traditional authority was being undermined. Suspensions mounted and recriminations were a normal occurrence.¹⁶

In many ways Makobore worked at a disadvantage because his new duties were in the first place too demanding on his physical ability and secondly, they were unpopular. The chief was variously expected to enforce colonial law, to recruit labour, to collect taxes and to maintain law and order. In such duties, the chief found himself less the defender and spokesman of his people and more of an agent of the colonial administration vis-a-vis his people. The consequence of resistance to such inroads upon traditional rights and tranquility of the people was the displacement of those chiefs who opposed by more Baganda chiefs.¹⁷

In 1913, the D.C. of Kigezi again passed a resolution, to facilitate administration, that the counties be divided into gombororas (sub-counties), and Rujumbura was re-divided and new allocations of new gomborora chiefs made. The new arrangement was as follows:

Kagunga was left in the charge of Makobore assisted by Katura
Nyakageme was given to Miranda
Buyanja was given to Rukari (a Mushambo)
Kasheshe was given to Karegyesa (Makobore's son)
Kitanda was given to Rwabambari (Makobore's son)

Kibumbu was given to Ndabahwerize (Rubaata's son)
Ruhinda was given to Kinyina (a Mushambo)
Kebisoni was given to Karukubiro (a Munyankore)¹⁸

Although the British aimed at preserving much of the traditional authority, the demands made upon it by colonial administration put a great strain on it. As a result the traditional authority began to crumble.

Now that Makobore could not discharge his duties at his leisure as before, and could not show a readiness to receive the new orders and implement them effectively, he found his powers and authority greatly undermined. The agile Muganda not only reaped all the privileges that used to fall to Makobore, but took charge of the administration. Makobore and his chiefs began to feel the pinch of foreign rule and serious clashes became so common that Rujumbura was always considered an impediment to the progress of the whole district. The District Commissioner, Mr. Sullivan, directed most of his attack against the Bahima chiefs and their leader, Makobore, whom he accused of unreliability and neglect of duty. To Makobore, he not only threatened deportation but also took to casting aspersions on his traditional authority and legitimacy. This suggests that to Sullivan legitimacy and suitability would mean the same thing if the ruler supported the British interests, and two different concepts if the ruler opposed them.

Such was Makobore's position, and the succeeding District Commissioners made it their determination to see that he was removed. A lot of bad reports were compiled in his file, and the 1913-20 annual reports stated the following about him:—

For some unaccountable reasons this chief was told that he could "manage" this district, this was owing to his genealogy that was thought by some person to be of semi-royal origin. This part of the country is the most out of hand in the whole district, and Makobore who was stated by Capt. Reid to be the most shifty and unreliable chief in Kigezi (a statement in which I absolutely concur) has been warned that he will be captured unless he shows a change for the better.¹⁹

As most of these reports used to be submitted by the Baganda agents, Makobore became virulent against the agents until two of them were dismissed on various charges. But still the District Commissioners remained convinced that things would only improve with Makobore's removal. The Baganda chiefs were already unpopular and alternative local chiefs who showed any aptitude for administration were not yet available. The D.C. insisted that Makobore should resign because not only was he now "as useless as ever", but was "constantly drunk, handicapping the agent in every way, and a mere curb in the progress of the district"²⁰ Makobore completely lost favour with the Kabale administrators although he still commanded the undivided loyalty and support of his people.

The D.C. introduced a new policy of recruiting chiefs. The new lot of local chiefs had to be recruited on the basis of merit, experience and hard work. The D.C. also introduced salaries to stimulate competition and increase efficiency. This also would check on corruption which was rife among the local chiefs and the Baganda chiefs alike. The exigencies of World War I, however, dragged the plans on, and for a time things drifted along in the same way as before. After the war, the authorities at Kabale decided to persuade Makobore to retire and they managed to pension him off early in 1920. One big appeasement was that the British officials asked Makobore to name his successor, and Karegyesa had all the while been working as a gomborora chief and he had been watched closely.²⁶ Thus ended the career of a man who had contributed much in the way of welding Rujumbura together and organising it along a centralized system of administration. His failure to cope with the colonial administration demonstrated the inherent contradictions of the British administration whether it was direct or indirect in method. Makobore died in 1941 still held in veneration by his people for his benevolence and nobility of character.

EDWARD SULIMANI KAREGYESA

He was born about 1885 and died in 1955. His mother was Nyabutyari and she was one of Makobore's many wives. Karegyesa grew up at his father's royal palace with other children but it is said that he developed a stern attitude to life, a quality that marked him unique from the other sons of Makobore. He possessed a strong personality which revealed itself in his early ability to lead and dominate other. Cows were his greatest object of love, and he liked to work instead of sitting idling away his time.

A man of strong physique, Karegyesa stood up to six feet nine inches. He had a deep black complexion, a long nose, large ears and bulging brown eyes. He had an extraordinarily commanding deep voice. He was a fierce-looking man who commanded awe and respect. His contemporaries portray him as a man who was harsh and difficult to deal with at times, especially in his early youth. In his late youth, he started changing into a man of admirable character. He started as a muruka chief and then became a gomborora chief. Generally, he ruled with an iron hand when he was still in these lower ranks. On one occasion, when he was a gomborora chief, he ordered that a certain man called Rwamasika be tied up in his own mat so that Karegyesa might use him as a seat while he drank his beer. The victim had refused to buy beer for Karegyesa and his men because previously he had been asked by Karegyesa to brew some beer for them, which the man did. But the beer was drunk and got finished by them. The Bahima and Bairu informants stressed Karegyesa's harsh rule and cruel practices like the heavy fines and severe caning.²²

However, his work as a gomborora chief had been excellent and he had been so successful that he gained the admiration of the British officials at Kabale. The District Commissioner, Mr. Philips, had rightly spotted him among all the chiefs so that even if he had not been Makobore's son, he would have been appointed a Saza chief. Philips held him in

confidence and believed that Karegyesa was the man that would undo "the evils of his father's time." The blatant bias against Makobore is evidenced by the eulogistic reports Philips showered on Karegyesa for no better reason than the fact that Karegyesa was their collaborator while Makobore had been a resister throughout. Karegyesa was always hailed and praised to the skies for his progressive policies and dynamic energy. For example, Philips described Karegyesa in one of the reports as "the vigorous, energetic young man, keenly interested in the maintenance of law and order, and in keeping an honest and good government."²³

Karegyesa, indeed, did enthuse over his new status and did his best to confirm the British colonial administration in a manner that surprised the British officials at Kabale. He immediately addressed himself to the problems left by his father. These problems were mainly the lack of effective control over the chiefs and the lack of a sense of duty. Rujumbura needed a man who could cultivate responsiveness and the ability to change in the people. There was still too much conservatism and indifference to life. Karegyesa attempted all that by first fighting against drunkenness which was the cause of laxity among the chiefs and the people. Karegyesa fought and reduced it to a minimum. He imposed fines on any chiefs who neglected their duties, looked shabby, or who went late on duty. Punctuality was one of his very strong points. Any chief who showed unwillingness to work and co-operate with the authorities was dismissed and replaced immediately. The old chiefs who were not ready to change and adapt themselves were usually dismissed and replaced by the young emerging elite who were more vigorous. Because people knew his standards, there was competition for chieftainship, and this meant a willingness to change basic attitudes.²⁴

Karegyesa himself did this by setting a good example to them. He went to Kabale on a briefing course in administration, where he took pains to learn Swahili and to read and write. He accepted baptism and monogamy, at least for official purposes. He forthwith sent away his wives and remained with the one that he married in church. He decided to forego all his likings and enjoyments that he realized would conflict with public duties. If he wanted to fall back to drinking habits and to worshipping of Ndahura, his temporal as well as spiritual god, he did it at night. It was no surprise that Karegyesa became such a disciplined official that the District Commissioner described him as a man who had "Broken from the retrograde habits of his father."²⁵ Compared to his father, he was not as benevolent and paternalistic but he realised, unlike his father, that traditional authority, unbuttressed by the colonial authority was useless. So, he quickly established himself as a model Saza chief behaving more as a British civil servant than as a legitimate traditional ruler.²⁶

Karegyesa and the modernization of Rujumbura

Karegyesa marked and ushered in the new era by transferring the headquarters from Kagunga, the seat of traditionalism, to Rukungiri, a new centre which became open to everybody. Freed from the grandeur of courtly life, Karegyesa set his mind to working for the progress and

modernization of his country by attempting to carry out all the colonial policies as they were dictated to him. His powers now derived from the higher authority and he had to find ways of legitimizing it. Soon, Rukungiri became the hub of vigorous activity for all sections and classes of people — the poor and rich, the privileged and the unprivileged, the Bahima and the Bairu alike. It was from Rukungiri that Karegyesa exerted himself to mobilize resources for the development of his country. He made every effort to promote agriculture by encouraging everyone to respond to the new challenges of the time. He set himself the task of harmonizing the divergent interests of his people. He had to deal with the problem of the Bahima who were deeply rooted in traditionalism and conservatism. They also entertained inflated ideas about themselves by regarding themselves as the 'untouchables' and the superior beings who were meant to be served by the Bairu. Karegyesa went immediately into correcting this attitude by forcing the Bahima to do everything the Bairu were doing.²⁷

Karegyesa spared no effort to curb and frustrate the Bahima's pretensions and to reduce many of their prejudices. For instance, he forced them to grow sweet potatoes and other food crops, something that was one of their rigid social taboos. He also forced them to join in the hunting expeditions against pigs and monkeys which were destroying people's food crops and, therefore, causing famine and unrest among the people. Together with his gomborora and miruka chiefs, he fought against the Bahima's indolence and indifference to participation in Government activities, and by the end of his rule, most of the Bahima were grateful and praising Karegyesa for his dedicated responsibility to them.²⁸

To the Bairu, Karegyesa also broke through many of their habits such as their feeling of inferiority, their reluctance to improve their lot, and some unclean habits. To ensure against future famine, he introduced the system of every house holder storing two sackfuls of millet, one at his house and the other at the government's granary stores. He forced the reclamation of swamps, the growing of black wattle trees and eucalyptus trees for building purposes. He also initiated the idea that every person should keep his own land well demarcated from his neighbours. This obviated future land disputes because no one would claim his neighbour's piece of land. It also encouraged individual farmers to plan their projects unhindered, especially when the chiefs and the agricultural and veterinary officials began to popularise the new methods of live-stock breeding and agriculture.

Karegyesa and his team of chiefs devoted themselves to implementing colonial policies. They were mostly organizing the Luwalo labourers who made a net-work of roads, built bridges, lukiko houses, chiefs' houses and the Europeans' rest camps. They had also to help in raising the standards of living. Karegyesa himself was always at the forefront of these campaigns. My informants were all agreed that the man was particularly against bad living and that any chief who did not supervise sanitary measures in his area was liable to heavy fines. The people were therefore to build good houses first, beginning with the round houses and later the four-sided houses. These houses had to be properly maintained by constant smearing

of the floors and white washing the walls. The compounds also had to be maintained clean. All this aimed at reducing the incidence of jiggers and mosquito-infested compounds. During these days malaria fever and tick-fever were very common; also there was a prevalence of dysentery; and therefore strong measures were taken. Karegyesa saw to it that everybody used a pit-latrine which had to be maintained clean. At this time were introduced spring-wells and properly looked after water-wells. This checked the spread of typhoid.²⁹

By 1929 Karegyesa had gone very far with the modernization of Rujumbura. His achievements were comparatively greater than any other *saza* chief in Kigezi. This was reflected in the collection of taxes. Karegyesa and his chiefs' administrative efficiency had so much increased that Rujumbura county came first in tax collection every year as the Kigezi Annual Reports showed. When the District Commissioner visited Rujumbura in the 1930's, he had the following report to make about Karegyesa:

In Rujumbura, the quality of energy, fairness and honesty of the county chief and the adviser are so far ahead of any other chief that, were these two tactlessly handed, or discouraged in their work, the whole country might "reel back into the beast."

Karegyesa and his chiefs were praised by the D.C. for their excellent handling of rinderpest which broke out in the sub-counties of Nyakagyeme and Ruhinda in the 1930's and for building cattle-sheds and for general progress in social and economic development. The new enterprises included pockets of trade centres which was being started at Rukungiri. Coffee and tobacco had also been started as cash crops; one dispensary was built at Rukungiri and two Elementary Schools, run by the two church missions, the Protestants and Roman Catholics at Kinyasano and Nyakibare respectively. The D.C. observed on his tour that:

The county of Rujumbura is, strangely enough, the most advanced; chiefly owing to the present county chief, of the Hororo ruling family, who has changed into a real chief as we understand it.³⁰

The 1930s could be rightly referred to as years of transition in Rujumbura. If modernization is concerned with the phenomenon of change, Rujumbura was undergoing that change in between these years. There was a visible and marked transformation from the traditional society to a semi-modern one. During this period there were changes in social, political, economic and demographic aspects. Socially, there was more social inter-dependence and peaceful co-existence among different groups than before. The Bahima-Bairu relations improved because they were all equally protected by the law which offered them social justice. There was increase in social mobility at the horizontal and vertical levels, and as Rujumbura became more and more exposed to the outside world, people improved their social status and outlook.³¹

With the introduction of cash crops, poll tax, christianity and education, there was increased migrant labour to Ankole, Masaka, Kampala and Toro.

Bunyoro in order to work for money. Although this had its social problems, it did widen men's outlook on life. When such men came back, they came with new ideas, and the money they brought back was used in many ways to improve their lot. New styles of dress, new methods of agriculture and building of houses were all indices of transformation. More of these changes were reinforced by the return of ex-soldiers since the world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. These had a great impact on many African societies, and Rujumbura was no exception. The ex-servicemen came back with a lot of money which they used to start various businesses. Such men started shops and built modern houses. They set standards which others tried to measure up to. Economic prosperity was seen in the way people started changing from wearing animal skins to wearing clothes, buying western articles like soap, plates, cups, shoes, hoes and the bicycle which was the biggest novelty.³²

Christianity and education were also great agents of modernization and still are big modernising agents. But at that time people who went to church and embraced the Christian religion showed a marked change from those who remained 'pagans', and those formed the first elite. Education was the most genuine modernizing agent that gave benefits and it was on this that Karegyesa concentrated most. In the political field, Karegyesa lifted up the standard of civil administration. It was during these years that Baganda agents and chiefs left Rujumbura and other parts of Kigezi and Uganda at large. This was partly due to their failure and partly to the colonial government's policy to replace 'them by local chiefs. The Baganda chiefs had, in many respects, been harsh in their rule and corrupt in their practices. The local people complained and agitated for their ejection, which the district commissioner, Mr. Philips also whole-heartedly supported. In Rujumbura, Karegyesa made every effort to replace the Baganda chiefs. He recruited new men who had acquired some education either in the church or in the schools. The chiefs were better organised in the execution of their duties. Because of greater differentiation of roles, the degree of performance and achievement greatly increased.

Karegyesa and the establishment of Christianity.

Karyegesa, though for many years he remained a nominal Christian, saw the necessity for receiving Christianity. He was actively involved in helping the churchmen to get sites and land, and he encouraged people to go to church. The first man to deal with was a Munyankole called Yoweri Nyaruhungu who was the first man to introduce Christianity in Rujumbura. This man who is now around the age of 85 came to Rujumbura in 1910. He was accompanying a certain Rev. Laane from Mbarara. Both men wanted to see Makobore if he could allow them to start Christian work there. Makobore was very much against Christianity and he sent them packing. Nyaruhungu came back in 1912 and settled at Rukungiri where he quietly started teaching some people. Later, he went to Makobore to ask him if he could help him to get catechumens, but Makobore was still unwilling. Meanwhile Karegyesa was there, deeply engaged in the worship of Ndahura, a spirit cult, which all the Bahima looked upon as their god. The Bairu were worshippers of Nyabingi and Mugasha.³³

Karegyesa and his co-religionists believed that if a person went to church, he would lose his "human essence" and that he would eventually look like "a madman, and like one that did not possess a heart or mind within himself." In spite of this attitude, Nyaruhungu got converts among whom was a man called Kabarega. The work began to attract people and the first people to get baptized did so in 1915. Those who went to church and were baptized began to show change from the others, and this increased people's desire to join. Karegyesa took note of this and although he did not embrace it, he no longer regarded Christianity as "a dehumanizing practice" as many people still thought. From the 1920s, Christianity became a popular belief and by then Karegyesa was already a *saza* chief. By virtue of his office, he was expected to be a Christian and to become baptized. This he did, but only for official purposes; for he remained a regular nocturnal worshipper of Ndahura. Although he did this he encouraged other chiefs to become Christians, and to help the church men to stamp out these spirit mediums.

Despite the fact that beliefs die hard, Christianity gained momentum and began to dig deeply into the traditional beliefs and to reduce such 'evil' practices as drunkenness, smoking, thefts and fornication. Karegyesa saw Christianity as some thing that could facilitate modernization. Karegyesa, therefore, went ahead with giving it encouragement. When he became a real Christian, he explained to his friends why he distrusted Christian God. In his books, he has recorded the following piece of information:

I, Karegyesa, when still a young man, once ate some baked blood which was siphoned from a cow that had been served by a bull previously. I scratched and scratched my skin until it became red, and I lost the nails of my toes. I got cured after a man called Kashote had given me some herbal medicine.³⁴

Karegyesa's Christianity had grown firm roots and he believed in the Christian God because he was aware that it was not the other god that had cured him but the herbal medicine.

Karegyesa and the Barokore Movement:

This was a movement which broke out in 1935/6. It was a sectional group of the Protestants, which claimed the power of vision of God revealed through the Holy Spirit. The affected people spoke of being twice-born. They were confessing publicly things that were very scandalous. Many people, including Karegyesa, opposed this, but the Barokore kept it up. The leaders of this movement were Daudi Ikurati, Israel Rwabuhe and Ernesti Nyabagabo. The movement had some headstrong young men notorious amongst whom was a young school master called Eric Bugari. This man constantly went to Karegyesa's home to preach repentance. Karegyesa, on several occasions, sent him away, but the man insisted in exposing many of Karegyesa's private sins. Karegyesa became so hot that he started a terrible persecution against the Barokore. He beat them and imprisoned them, but the more he did it, the more they increased in their activities.

As for Bugari, he decided to banish him from Rujumbura, and he did it on the advice of the District Commissioner. Many of the chiefs that were Barokore lost their positions because of insisting on leaving duty to go and preach. The Barokore gave Karegyesa a hard time, and he gave them a hard time too. The movement proved intractable and Karegyesa had to give up, eventually becoming a Murokore himself.³⁵

Karegyesa and the development of Education

The work was started by the churches at both parishes, Kinyasano and Nyakibare for the Protestants and the Catholics respectively. In 1922 Kinyasano Elementary School was started by Ernest Nyabagabo. It had two classes and less than twenty boys. In 1928 Nyakibare was also started. It was an African Christian group which started it as an Elementary School with two classes. But this one was taken over by the White Fathers who started developing faster than Kinyasano. In both cases, the initial problems would have overwhelmed them but Karegyesa again was alert to help them through. Karegyesa's contribution in this particular field was of the greatest significance. He went into the villages and captured children and took them to school. He was helped by his chiefs, clerks and askaris. It was compulsory for every parent to send at least one child to school. Fines and imprisonment again were the weapons he used against the offenders.

He called meetings at which he explained the need for education. He urged parents and children to take it very seriously. He appointed committees which collected money to pay for poor children and poor orphans; the rest of the money was used to keep the buildings in repair and to render any services that were lacking. The two schools under his patronage developed from the two classes to four classes. The schools got government grants which speeded up development. In 1932 a girls' school was started at Kinyasano by Miss Merabu Nyinenzangi, the sister of Ernest Nyabagabo. The girls' education received help from two white missionaries, Miss C. Hornby and Miss L. Clarke. In collaboration with various bodies, both private and public, officials and non-officials, Karegyesa devoted his entire life to see that education was given the first consideration. He appealed to all his subjects to give the teachers and the higher authorities maximum support in raising the standard of Education in Rujumbura. He became not only the patron of this big enterprise, but became the greatest benefactor of many children of the Bairu and the Bahima. His home always appeared like another big school of his own children and many others captured from the villages. The whole place bustled with young life, and all the eminent contemporary personalities still look back with splendid memories of the 'palace' life.³⁶

Karegyesa, outside Rujumbura:

Outside Rujumbura, Karegyesa was highly popular and accorded full respect for his enlightened views, co-operation and tremendous insight. One of his great admirers is Mr. P. Ngorogoza, the Mukiga Secretary General of Kigezi. The picture he paints of him is incredible. At personal

and public level, he said he knew Karegyesa to be a lovable and highly respectable gentleman, a great leader and a very wise man. At the district level, Karegyesa contributed greatly. He was a great believer in the unity of Kigezi and for that reason, he was one of the forefront fighters against all divisive elements in Kigezi, mainly the so-called 'tribalism' and religious animosities. In early 1930s, Karegyesa became the first proponent of the idea that Kigezi should have a president, not that he saw himself the probable candidate but because he believed that unity was the only strength that would make Kigezi a viable political entity. He therefore refuted strongly the detractors and the fears that if one of their number was made a President, the other tribes, Banyarwanda or Bakiga or Bahororo, would feel envious. He also initiated a proposal that the people of Kigezi should be allowed to possess mailo land.³⁷

These proposals were proposed in the Kigezi first council of five saza chiefs. This council was commonly known as 'Wilaya'. After these proposals had been discussed, they were approved and submitted to the D.C. who submitted them to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province. The P.C. replied as follows:

The request for Mailo land in Kigezi is impossible because Kigezi is very small; there will be over-population and no living space.

regarding the question of the President, the P.C. pointed out;

The notion of a President is also impossible for the three tribes in Kigezi; — Bakiga, Bahororo and Banyarwanda; if the presidency was given to a man of one tribe, would not the rest complain?³⁸

Ngorogoza in his book, and in personal interview with him, explained that it was Karegyesa, as their spokesman, who refuted that by saying, categorically, that the people of Kigezi would be prepared to accept any of the tribes. Positive achievement was made in 1946. Kigezi got its first Secretary General. Another aspect whereby Karegyesa's insight transcended parochial interests was the 1946 Bakiga re-settlement scheme which he gave a tremendous push. As a result of over-population, especially in the counties of Ndorwa and Rukiga, the Secretary-General and a team of others tried to find a solution to the over-crowded Bakiga population. The team of these chiefs surveyed all vacant areas in Rujumbura and Karegyesa helped them to find places in Buyanja, Nyakagyeme, Ruhina and Buganyari, where the Bakiga were re-settled.

Among the first elite chiefs in Kigezi that measured up to Karegyesa's calibre were Mukombe, Kakwenza, Rukiribuga, Rwomushana and Ngorogoza. But all of them came to eminence in the early 1930's, ten years after Karegyesa. By the time they started working with him on equal footing, Karegyesa was much their senior and more experienced in the colonial administration. Karegyesa's statesmanship was not beneficial to Rujumbura alone, but to Kigezi and Uganda at large.

From this sketchy study of the history of Rujumbura, one can observe the evolution of the political institutions which culminated in a stable and integrated political entity of Rujumbura. At the time when the Europeans came Rujumbura had a viable government machinery which maintained law and order, administered justice, organised and delegated authority in the legitimate traditional manner. With the introduction of the British colonial administration, despite the fact that there was little structural change, there were many contradictions and incompatibilities that emanated from the colonial situation itself. As a result, traditional values were destroyed. On the other hand, the degree of a changing society, the introduction of cash economy, the improvement of communication and the re-establishment of law and order created ideal conditions for self-improvement in social, political and economic aspects.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Oral Interviews Ruj. H.T. No. 2, Kosire, 17.4.70
2. E. Kamuhangire and A. Munyuzangabo, *A History of South-West Ankole until 1940*, p. 9, Makerere History Papers.
3. E. S. Karegyesa, "*The Bahororo History*" Vol. II, Kagunga (unpublished).
4. Ruj. H.T. No 4, S. Kyahwera, 8.4.70
5. S. R. Baitwababo, in *Ngano*, E.A.P.H.. 1969, p.17, and in chapter four of this volume.
6. E. S. Karegyesa, *op. cit.* Vol. II.
7. P. Ngorogoza, *Kigezi and its People*, E.A.L.B. 1969, p.55.
8. S. R. Baitwababo, in *Ngano* p.21.
9. E. S. Karegyesa *op. cit.* Vol. II.
10. S. R. Baitwababo, quoting Ankole Archives, 6/41, Kigina.
11. E. S. Karegyesa, *op. cit.* Vol. II.
12. A. G. Katate and L. Kanugungunu, *Abagabe b'Ankole* Bk II. p. 22, E.A.L.B. 1967.
13. H. F. Morris, *A History of Ankole*. EALB, 1962, p. 45.
14. E. S. Karegyesa, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.
15. D. J. Denoon, in this volume, chapter thirteen.

16. Kigezi District Archives, Annual Reports 1913-1914.
17. Ruj. H. T. No. 3, E. Kakondo, 7.4.70; Also see Ruj. H. T. No. 5, S. Bweyakyeye, 10.4.70.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Kigezi District Archives, Annual Reports 1920-1930. Denoon, *op. cit.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. Ruj. H.T. No. 6, Y. Bigairwe, 13.4.70, Also see Ruj. H.T. 5, *op. cit.*
22. *Ibid.* and Ruj.H.T. No. 7, B. Oribotafire, 18.4.70.
23. Kigezi District Archives, Annual Reports 1920-1930.
24. Ruj. H.T. No. 7 *op. cit.*
25. Annual Reports 1920-1930.
26. Of D. Denoon in chapter thirteen.
27. E. S. Karegyesa *op. cit.* Vol. II.
28. Ruj. H.T. No. 14 Y. Rwakatogoro, 11.5.70.
29. Kigezi District Archives Annual Reports 1920-1930.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Ruj.H.T. No.8, E. Babigarukamu, 22.4.70.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Ruj. H.T. No. 14 *op. cit.* Ruj. H.T. No. 11, Y. Nyaduhungu, 11.5.70.
34. E. S. Karyegesa, *op. cit.* Vol. II.
35. Ruj.H.T. No.12, T. Kakiza, 3.5.70.
36. Ruj. H.T. No. 13, Y. Kajema. 8.5.70.
37. Ruj. H.T. No. 15, P. Ngorogoza, 14.5.70.
38. P. Ngorogoza, *op. cit.*

The Function of Religion in Bufumbira's History

By Anthony Munyuzangabo.

Before accounting for the functional role of religion in Bufumbira's social, economic and political developments, I propose to give a short survey of the history of different religions which have been present in Bufumbira during the past fifty years.

Religion, "a belief in the existence of a supernatural ruling power, the creator and controller of the universe", has existed in Bufumbira since the inception of that society: it is therefore impossible to account historically for the beginning of traditional religion. From time immemorial the Bufumbira have believed in one supreme God, who is known by different names: Imaana, Nyagasami and Rulema. While it is difficult to translate these names they refer respectively to God's attributes of creating, providing and loving. It is therefore not surprising that these attributes have been epitomised in the names of many Bufumbira. Names such as Habyar'Imaana, Harer'Imaana and Harem'Imaana are evidence of the Bufumbira's appreciation of God's many attributes. These names mean (respectively) God makes marriages fertile, 'God rules the universe', 'God sustains all life', and 'it is God who creates'. All my informants are agreed on these points. Traditionally religion pervaded, and diffused into, all the various aspects of Bufumbira society, social, political or even economic. However, the traditional religion was not merely a matter of abstract ideas born out of personal reflection and concretised in certain rituals. The Bufumbira, besides worshipping the supreme being and creator, venerated also the "emandwa" — the spirits of the dead, such as one's grandfather's spirit. These spirits had their king, known as Ryangombe.¹

Ryangombe, who is supposed to have lived during the reign of Ruganzu, Mwami of Rwanda², is also supposed to have been a mighty hunter. He was skilled in some magic arts, and was somewhat independent of Ruganzu. In fact some people believe that he was a stranger in Rwanda. On several occasions he encountered Ruganzu, and each tried out-do the other in magical performances. Eventually they reached a compromise when Ruganzu was going to attack Bushi.³

The reason for Ryangombe's subsequent veneration arose when, one day, he organised a hunting against his mother's will. He went hunting buffalo; and when a buffalo charged him, it gored and tossed him into the air. He fell into a shrub called "umuko", or *Hibiscus Abyssinica*, and there he died. Because of this connection, all initiates in the Ryangombe cult are confirmed around that shrub. Ryangombe's mother, mourning her son, de-

manded that everyone in Rwanda should venerate Ryangombe, lest evil befall them. Ryangombe's followers then popularised the belief and the rites associated with it. According to the traditional religion, those who died without being initiated into the cult would go to eternal fire. — "Nyira-chanyi" — in the Birunga mountains. Those who were initiated before they died, however, would go to those Birunga mountains which did not emit fire. They could easily approach Ryangombe's spirit, which was said to inhabit Muhabura mountain in the same range.⁴

Before — and even after — the advent of Christianity in Bufumbira, people adhered to their traditional beliefs. If we examine the family, as the nucleus of society, we may observe the functional role of religion in society as a whole. When, for instance, a man sought a bride, the relationship was established by the respective parents, who would consult a priest ("umufumu"), the custodian of the pertinent rites, to decide whether the proposed union was suitable. So important were these consultations, that if the priests advised against the union, the suitor's father would not proceed to a proposal, even if there were no other objection to the match. In some cases, when either the bride or the groom had not been initiated into the emandwa rituals, initiation was required before the marriage took place. This was important both socially and politically, since marriage created not only a social relationship but also a political alliance between the two families involved, which could be invoked in times of trouble. "Kubandwa ceremony was resorted to whenever the people concerned wanted wealth ("ubukire"), namely fertility ("urubyaro"), property ("amatungo"), peace or health."⁵ Any momentous decision had to receive the approval of the priests before being put into practice. "Even the person from whom crop seed had to be obtained, had to be approved by the priest."⁵

Traditional religion permeated Bufumbira so thoroughly that, when Christianity (and particularly Catholicism) was preached, traditional religion became a Janus. It fostered as well as hindered conversion to Christianity. Some people regarded Christian rituals as merely a European version of their own 'Kubandwa' ceremonies, and they saw no reason to abandon their own traditional rituals in order to embrace those of Europe. Those who were more liberal and adventurous allowed themselves to be proselytised precisely because some of the rituals of the new religion resembled those of old. Curiosity was instrumental in the conversion of such people.

Most of my informants believe that Islam was the first exotic religion to reach Bufumbira, and they appear to be correct. Throughout the lacustrine region many people were converted to a new religion when it was adopted by the local ruler; and so in Bufumbira there were some converts as a result of the fact that the first British Agent ('Budara Kanyamonyo', or as he preferred to be known, Abdalla Namunye) was a Muslim. "In Bufumbira it was the Islamic religion which arrived first. Some people started to join the Islamic religion because the ruler of Bufumbira at that time was a Muslim called Budara Kanyamonyo in about 1918 [sic]".⁶ Abdalla Namunye was in fact appointed British agent in Bufumbira in 1912, following the Anglo-German boundary demarcation of 1910.⁷

Mufumbira Member of Parliament — the Hon. Bazanyamaso — is a product of the Protestant effort. It would also seem that, amongst Bafumbira intellectuals, Protestants are in a majority, having had access of Kigezi High School after their primary education, as well as to the other secondary schools in Uganda, and eventually to tertiary education.

Catholicism, too, has played an important role in the development of Bufumbira. One explanation for Catholicism's development role was that the Catholic priests were wealthy. According to one informant, Reverend Father Laane arrived in Bufumbira in 1919, accompanied by Yohana Kitagana.¹¹ They came from Rushoroza seeking a site for a church, and eventually decided to build at Mutolere. "At first he liked Sesene but to his disappointment he found that the Government had already given the site to the Protestants. Then the catechist showed him another site at Chihe, but it was in a depression and so it was rejected. Afterwards he came to Mutolere and decided to build a church there."¹² It should be remembered that the 'church' was only a shelter where would-be converts could assemble to listen to lessons in the catechism.

According to James Kainamura, one of the early Catholic catechists, "because of the language problem Father Laane asked for catechists from Rwanda, that is from Kabgayi and Nyundo. After getting them, he took back Kitagana to Rushoroza and sent Augusto Kapere to be head catechist over those who had just come from Rwanda." It is interesting to note that, although the Bafumbira had been cut off from Rwanda by the Partition, Catholicism helped to perpetuate the relationship. Bafumbira did not regard Catholicism as being so foreign as Protestantism, since it was being preached by their own people from Rwanda. Despite the presence of catechists in Bufumbira however, catechumens completed their instruction and received baptism at Rushoroza. "It was only in 1929 that the catechumens completed their instruction at Mutolere. It was the same year that the priests started the Mutolere Parish."¹³

Before the establishment of Mutolere parish, and therefore before Mutolere had permanently resident priests, evangelisation was carried out by such men as the following:- R. Mbaraga, Matayo Nyiringabo, M. Sebakuriye, M. Karugarama and E. Rukabarandekwe, all of whom had come from Kabgayi in Rwanda. The Busanza part of Bufumbira was entrusted to "good old" John Kainamura of Rugali mission in the Congo, since part of Busanza area had been allocated to the Congo in the partition. Two other catechists, namely V. Majaja and D. Kabwa, from Nyundo mission in Rwanda, also helped in the proselytisation of Bufumbira prior to the establishment of a permanent parish. Catholicism had therefore already taken root when eventually in November 1929 Reverend Father Joseph Nicolet, Eugen "Klep" and Reverend Brother Simon arrived in Bufumbira. The pioneer priests (according to Boniface Mukopi who travelled in their party) left Rushoroza on 5th November. Despite poor means of communication and the existence of wild animals roaming all over the area, they completed the journey in only one and a half days from Kabale to Mutolere. This is a distance of about 50 miles even by the most direct route. "We slept at Bufundi in a rest camp

Apart from a rather meagre retail trade conducted by the Arabs, there was no means of introducing Islam or making it attractive to many Bafumbira, nor for it to influence the trend of events in the county. Despite the common assertion that Islam attracts Africans because of the flexibility of some of its tenets, especially with regard to polygamy, Islam seems actually to have been repulsed by the Bafumbira. In the first place Islam lacked effective evangelists — Abdalla Namunye was in fact an administrator on behalf of the British, not an evangelist on behalf of Islam. Secondly, the Bafumbira dreaded the rite of circumcision, which they equated with castration. Castration was, according to the customs of the Bafumbira and Banyarwanda, a humiliation to be inflicted upon one's dead enemies; and therefore circumcision offered no attraction to the people. Apart from some encouragement by the Arab Sherif brothers, Islam did not emerge to play a significant role in the social and political life of Bufumbira.

After Islam, the second exotic religion to be preached in Bufumbira was Protestantism of the Anglican variety. According to Sendegeya, "the religion of the readers came to Bufumbira in 1917. It was of the Protestant denomination. The first Protestant teacher was a Muhororo called Eliya Magosyo. He arrived at Seseme in Chyahi sub-county. It was even there that the C.M.S.'s first church was built." It is doubtful, however, whether the Bahororo by 1917 were in a position to send missionaries to other parts of the country, and the alternative account is more plausible, which states that the first evangelist was a Muganda. "The Protestants came following the Muslims. The Protestants arrived before the Catholics. They started teaching at Kisoro is about 1918 before moving in Seseme. The Protestant teacher at that time was called Yoweri."⁸ According to another informant,⁹ Protestantism arrived even before Islam. "The Protestants arrived here in Bufumbira in 1915 under the leadership of Zachaliya Balaba." To judge by his name, Zachaliya was also a Muganda, who may well have been in the British administrative service.

Whether they arrived before or after the Muslims, what is important to note is that their religion played a major role in the development of Bufumbira. The first school in Kigezi was a Protestant establishment built in Bufumbira.¹⁰ It was this school which was later transferred to Rugarama, the present site of Kigezi High School. The Protestants therefore may be said to have pioneered education in the district. The Protestants were not only interested in converting the Bafumbira to Protestantism, but also in imparting literacy.

Since the arrival of the Protestants in the second decade of this century, many schools have been built throughout Bufumbira. The oldest of these schools is probably Kisoro in Chahi sub-county. Next would be Seseme, which is also the head-quarters of the Protestant Dean of Bufumbira, the Reverend Gihanga. There are other Protestant primary schools in the sub-counties of Nyarusiza, Nyakabande, Busonza, Chahi and Rubugusi. Primary schools such as Gisorora, Gitovu and 'Muhanga Protestant', have tended to cater mainly to the interests of Protestants, but have nevertheless helped in the fight against illiteracy and ignorance. It is interesting that the first

and, the following day, we passed through Cuya, where there were lots of elephants, buffaloes and wild pigs. We rested at Bihungye for a short time and had some tea there. We then resumed our journey. We left Bihungye, descended Cyanamye and arrived at Nyakabande at around 12 noon: we found a crowd of people waiting for us there. Thereafter we proceeded to Mutolere to start work. Auguste Kapere was the head catechist, and was assisted by Cornelio Rukuba and John Kainamura."

Unlike their Protestant counter-parts, the Catholic priests did not start with schools. They were bent upon establishing a solid Catholic centre in the area and, as such, they were interested in training some followers in manual skills. Under the guidance of Brother Simon and with the aid of Mr. Boniface Mukopi, brick-kilns were built and people were instructed in the manufacture of bricks. Soon some of the Christians were trained as skilful brick-layers. Others were taught to make tiles, while yet others learned carpentry. There was soon no further need to summon skilled workers from outside Bufumbira: the Bafumbira themselves built their own mission, by assisting the parish priest and his helpers.

Once there was a cadre of skilled workers, they tried to improve the conditions of their own houses. It is said that these skilled artisans received a wage of about six shillings a month, which was comparatively high and which enabled them to improve their own standard of living. In education, as well as in the economic field, religion played an important role. It would seem, however, that both the educational and economic development of Bufumbira were by-products of religious development. Several of Bufumbira's Catholic intellectuals — and these comprise a sizeable number — appear to be ex-seminarists. The priests in Bufumbira seem to have encouraged some of their brightest pupils to join the seminary or to enter the teaching profession. Most of the bright boys did in fact attend training colleges, either because of poverty or they were encouraged to do so. Most have found no difficulty in attaining university education, after surmounting the economic barrier. It is interesting that, because many bright pupils became primary school teachers, they provided a very sound base for the compatriots at primary level. It is not clear whether Father Nicolet and Klep had this in mind when they began work, but certainly their efforts had the effect of encouraging primary education. There are numerous Catholic primary schools in Bufumbira, and to judge by primary school leaving examination results, they appear to have quite high standards.

It is said that religion affected not only economic and educational development, but also the political life of the country. As a result of early contacts with the Baganda, as employees of the British administration, or as catechists, some Bafumbira learned to read Luganda newspapers such as *Munno*. Later they could also read the monthly newspaper "Agandi" published at Nyamitanga mission during the 1950's. These sources made some Bafumbira aware of what was going on in the outside world, outside their immediate environment. The same effect was produced by access to *Binyamateka* from Rwanda. Because these papers were generally Catholic, they could easily be circulated through the net-work of Catholic parishes.

from catechists to parishioners. In short, religion played a diffuse, and important rôle, even without referring to health, though it should be noted in passing that most missionaries in Bufumbira acted not only as physicians, but also as health instructors.

Sources:

- J. Kainamura of Matinga, a pioneer catechist from Rugali mission in Congo.
- M. Nyiringabo, a pioneer catechist from Kabgayi in Rwanda.
- A. Burindi of Busanza.
- C. Binyaranga of Kagera, one of the oldest Christians, a former pupil of the pioneer priests.
- Z. Sendegeya, an early convert and Muruka chief.
- B. Mukopi, a member of the travelling party of the pioneer priests. He is regarded by Many Mutolere carpenters as their "grand-father."

FOOTNOTES

1. Oral evidence from A. Burindi and J. Kainamura. Cf Chapter by Mr. Rwandusya.
2. According to Father A. Kagame, *Inganji Karinga*, Ruganzu was the eighteenth Mwami of Rwanda, living in the late sixteenth century. A more probable date, however, would be early seventeenth.
3. Cf Father Geraud in chapter one of this volume.
4. Oral evidence from Z. Sendegeya, C. Binyaranga, and A. Burindi.
5. Oral evidence from A. Burindi
6. *Ibid.*
7. See Chapters by Sebalijja and Denoon.
8. Oral evidence from Sendegeya and J. Kainamura.
9. Oral evidence from C. Binyaranga.
10. Described by Rwandusya, in chapter two.
11. A further account is provided by Nicolet, in chapter fourteen.
12. Oral evidence from B. Mukopi.

13. Ibid.

This argument interestingly parallels that of Dr. M. L. Pirouet of the Department of Religious Studies in Makerere, who argues that Protestantism expanded out of Buganda in a manner and in directions very similar to the pre-colonial diplomatic influence of Buganda on the neighbouring kingdoms.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Bufumbira in the Colonial period.

by Philemon Mateke.

In 1912, when the British were establishing their administrative structure in Kigezi as a whole, they recognised Nyindo as chief of Bufumbira. In 1915, when Nyindo rebelled and fled, the arrangement collapsed, and the administration of Bufumbira was left in the charge of Abdulla Namunye the Agent. The government thought it appropriate to appoint a Munyarwanda as county chief in succession to Nyindo; and 1922 they appointed Mr. George Peter Nyirimbirima, a son of Mwami Rwabugiri of Rwanda (who died in 1895), who had been brought up in Bufumbira since the 1910's. After elementary education he had been baptised. The British expected him, as a prince, to administer in their interests, and entitled the post 'Intebe'.

During Nyirimbirima's period of office, two schools were set up. The first, built at Rusiza near Kisoro, was later known as Seseme. Its development was largely a result of the initiative of the D.C., Phillips, and it was established in 1922. Later in the 1920's Catholic school was built at Mutolere, largely as a result of initiatives by the White Fathers. In 1933 Nyirimbirima was dismissed from office, as he appeared to lean unduly towards the Mwami of Rwanda, to whom he had been sending tribute. He was therefore dismissed unceremoniously, on the grounds of double dealing.

He was succeeded by James Gicamwa, from 1933 to 1941, the first native Mufumbira to occupy so responsible a post. His rule is remembered as one of the most oppressive in the history of Bufumbira. He used to cane people without provocation, and he devised his own fashion of speaking. During his term of office the road from Kabale via Kisoro to Ruhengeri was opened; and a great movement of labourers began, from Bufumbira, to Buhweju. He also encouraged the storing of food in case of famine, and especially such crops as finger millet, and peas. In 1941 he was dismissed when he refused to recruit Bafumbira men for military service. He was forcibly taken to Tororo Central Recruiting depot. After some months, however, he returned as a gomborora chief. His dismissal from the country chieftaincy was greeted with relief by most of the Bafumbira.

He was succeeded as chief by Mr. Paulo Rukeribuga, from 1941 to 1962, one of the most progressive and enlightened chiefs of Bufumbira. He had been gomborora chief of Bubare in Ndorwa: prior to that, he had a very simple elementary education, and had been an askari from 1929 until 1933 when he was appointed gomborora chief. He was very popular on account of his friendly manner. In many cases he compelled his people to send their children to school, and he was morally and materially responsible for

the building of many primary schools in the country, both Protestant and Catholic. Indeed his freedom from religious prejudice contributed to his general popularity. He also embarked on a policy of eradicating wild animals which ravaged crops, particularly wild pigs and hippopotamus, which were almost extinguished by 1943, much to the relief of the farmers. He was also a great friend of Mwami Mutara III of Rwanda. Because of this friendship, he permitted Banyarwanda to come and get food in Bufumbira during the famine of 1942. That in turn precipitated a terrible famine in Bufumbira, known as Rudakangwinishanana.

When a period of active politics was initiated in the 1950's, Mr. Rukeribuga was cool towards politicians, since he was not committed to independence, nor to African majority rule. This was probably because he had grown accustomed to colonial rule over a long period; and at any rate he used to criticise the politicians for disrupting the balance. Nevertheless in 1958 Mr. John Lwamafa was elected member of parliament to represent Kigezi. When he was appointed a Minister in the Uganda Government, another election was required, and Mr. A. Bazanyamaso (U.P.C.) was elected to fill the vacancy. During this period, politics was firmly based upon religious divisions. From 1959 onwards, a Catholic was presumed to belong to the Democratic Party, and a Protestant to the Uganda People's Congress. Mr. Rukeribuga died in 1961, before self-government was reached. During his reign almost every Mufumbira felt that he was under the paternal care of a magnanimous chief.

Economic and Social Development.

Almost all Bafumbira depended upon subsistence agriculture, and cultivated millet, peas, beans and sweet potatoes. In Bukimbiri there were a few cereals, whose cultivation was inhibited by the absence of a market and the poverty of communications. Shifting agriculture was normal, until the 1940's, so long as land was available. From the 1930's onwards measures were applied to combat soil erosion: grass burning was controlled, contour cultivation and hedging were strictly enforced by the colonial officials. As a result, production increased, and especially sweet potatoes. A cash economy was restrained by lack of transport facilities and of trained personnel. Despite these difficulties, colonial officials persuaded some Bafumbira to grow Arabica coffee, for which the cool climate was suitable. Some people grew wealthier as a result, but unfortunately insect pests have attacked this particular crop. Tobacco was also encouraged during the 1940's. In order to guard against famine, the colonial officials insisted that each family should keep a store of food, and deposit some at the gomborora headquarters. This measure was strictly implemented.

So long as communications depended upon local foot-paths, contact with other counties and countries was severely limited. To deal with this problem, a road was built from Kabale to Rutchuru (in the Congo) and to Ruhengeri (in Rwanda). By 1935 the Kabale-Ruhengeri road was complete as far as the Rwanda border, while the Belgians completed their section of the road, and the road was open to lorry transport in December of the same year.

When colonial taxes were introduced, they were at first paid in kind, but later the government insisted on payment in cash. To earn the money, most taxable men worked on the Kabale-Kisoro road. In the 1930's and early 1940's, however, there was a remarkable movement of Bafumbira to Buhweju county in Ankole, seeking employment. Labourers on leave acted as recruiters, impressing upon the Bafumbira that working conditions were ideal, and that a bonus was payable to people who worked hard. Many young men also went to work in the pyrethrum estate at Kanengeri in Rubanda county. They did so in order to purchase cattle and goats, which were necessary for bride-price; and some people who worked there for several years became quite affluent.

The first school in Bafumbira was built in the early 1920's at Rusiza, and later transferred to Seseme. It was a joint effort by the D.C. and the Church Missionary Society. Later in the 1920's a Catholic school was built at Mutolere. From then until independence missionaries played a very important role in primary and secondary education. Government and missions had numerous motives. The career of Ntokiibiri suggested to the government that they should foster western education in order to fight against Nyabingi. The missionaries joined in as champions of anti-Nyabingi propaganda. After the first world war there were few British people available to work in each county, and it was found convenient to train Africans to be clerks, chiefs, agricultural field assistants, medical and health assistants, and teachers. This is to say that the British wished to train agents for their own interests. The subjects taught in primary schools were Kiswahili, Agriculture, Health Education, Bible Knowledge, Reading and Writing. Boys who completed primary school successfully went on either to Kigezi High School in Kabale, or to St. Mary's Rushoroza, or to teacher training colleges. Initially the Bafumbira were reluctant to send their children to school, and indeed the government and C.M.S. collaborated to put pressure on parents to send children. However, in the 1940's, many Bafumbira became interested, when they saw that educated people enjoyed a special status, as teachers, chiefs or clerks. By the early 1950's there were many primary schools in Bafumbira.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the county chief was Mr. James Gicamwa, and the D.C. of Kigezi was Mr. A. G. V. Jenkins. The gomborora chiefs at that time were Tomas Sebukweto, D. Nyamuganya, Z. Rwandusya, K. Boya and B. Munyamashara. When the D.C. asked Mr. Gicamwa to recruit servicemen, he turned a deaf ear, and it was speculated that he did so because his sub-ordinate chiefs disliked the idea of recruitment; some told him that he would be killed if he permitted recruitment. He was then ordered to accompany recruits to Tororo, and was replaced by Mr. P. Rukeribuga on 1 March 1941. The first batch of recruits therefore left Kisoro only on 23 March 1941, on their way to Tororo. An estimated 3,400 Bafumbira served in the War. On their return, those who were educated exercised responsibility, and some still do. Mr. Silas Nkeragutabare, for example, is gomborora chief of Chahi; Mr. M. Kabenike is Community Development Officer in Toro; Mr. J. W. Kaguriro is gomborora chief of Kiriima in Kinkiizi; Mr. D. Rama is chief clerk in the judicial section of the

Kabale administration; and some others are health assistants. The servicemen met, and exchanged views with, people from many parts of the world.

During the war the government encouraged people to grow as much food as possible; and many agricultural officers were sent to instruct people in various techniques for maximising profit. Despite these efforts, in 1943 a serious famine occurred, named Rudakangwimishanana, which lasted two years. It affected nearly everyone in Bufumbira. The main cause was a famine in Rwanda, which induced Banyarwanda to come to Bufumbira for food, bringing goats, sheep, cattle and even girls. Too much food was sold in these circumstances. By 1944 the food shortage was a serious problem, and people ate very badly. It came to the people's attention that there was plenty of food in the Congo. Unfortunately there was also epidemic of dysentery at Jjomba, so that the Bafumbira who went there for food contracted dysentery as well, which quickly spread over the whole country. As a result, thousands of Bafumbira died.

1. For the allocation of chieftaincies see chapters by Ssebalijja and Denoon.
2. On education in Bufumbira, see chapter sixteen by Munyuzangabo.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Bakiga Resistance and Adaptation to British Rule.

by F. Bananuka - Rukara.

Bakiga reactions to the British assumption of power in their country must be explained against the historical back-ground. By 1908, when the British arrived in Kigezi, the Bakiga had recently experienced a series of disasters, including an invasion by Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, a series of raids by Batwa brigands, and a series of epidemics including rinderpest, small-pox, jiggers and scabies. Locusts and droughts added to the list of troubles. These events have been described in other chapters¹, but here we should briefly note their consequences. Internal warfare was intensified by the scarcity of food, which also provoked many people to flee to neighbouring countries such as western Ankole. The decline of animal and human population, and intensified political divisions, combined to prevent the Bakiga from being able to offer united or massive resistance to determined British intrusion. The prophet Nyakairima had predicted the coming of "red strangers", and rumours had spread from Buganda, Nkore and Rwanda. The first Europeans to enter the area were Germans, who came via Kamwezi in the east, led by a Muhunde named Rwakakaiga, whose home was at Kayonza near Rutobo. The Germans behaved very harshly, killing people and looting their possessions, and even killing a man named Rugyenga who brought them gifts.² The Germans were followed by Belgians who came to Nyakishenyi from the North-West, and who behaved equally badly.³ These episodes created amongst the Bakiga a strong sense of xenophobia.

Other chapters have traced the growth of British influence in the region, from the 1908 Kivu Mission, to the 1911 attack upon Muhumuza, leading finally to the 1912 allocation of subordinate chieftaincies at the Ikumba Conference.⁴ The British were clearly interested in creating a local administration on the Buganda model; the local people were reluctant to become involved; and most important positions in the colonial hierarchy were filled by Baganda. Not until 1922 was the first Mukiga — Kalimarwaki — appointed a gombolola chief. The immediate and obvious effects of the new administration were demands for free labour (especially when the First World War broke out in 1914), the collection of taxes (from 1915 onwards), and strong hostility towards the Nyabingi cult. Positively, the Baganda also introduced the cultivation of bananas and potatoes; but on the whole they were fiercely resented. For one thing, Ssebalijja seems to have regarded the Bakiga in much the same way as a medieval lord regarded the serfs, and he even claimed — privately — to be the Kabaka of the Bakiga.⁵ Further, increasing numbers of Baganda came to be employed in the administration, and these were believed to be guilty of corrupt practices. It is claimed, for example,

that they conducted court while playing card games or *mweso*, so that their judgements were careless. Conversely, they were careful in giving judgement when they expected some personal financial advantage. To increase their emoluments, they tended to lump civil and criminal cases together, and to levy heavy fines on convicted parties. Part of this fine might go to the plaintiff, and part to the government, but part might also go to the chief who judged the case.⁶ The confusion created by the First World War, and the increased demands made upon the people generally at that time, facilitated the development of such corrupt practices. Many Bakiga remember these years as the era of Baganda rule — not as the first years of British Colonialism. For reasons suggested in another chapter,⁷ this state of affairs continued until the 1920's. With some justification, the Bakiga were unimpressed by the new regime.

The role of the *Nyabingi* cult during this period should not be overlooked. It had already lent itself to various political purposes in pre-colonial organisation, and more militant in political issues, than either the *Emandwa* system of beliefs, or the worship of *Emizimu* (ancestral spirits). When the British arrived in the region, they discovered Muhumuza as the chief exponent of this cult. Muhumuza, the daughter of Nkanza, was a widow of Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri of Rwanda. She had hoped that her son — would succeed Rwabugiri in 1895. Instead, the succession passed first to Rutarindwa and then quickly to Musinga, who formed a useful alliance with the in-coming Germans. Muhumuza fled to the north, to mobilise support for her cause. After one abortive attempt, she was captured by the Germans, but escaped from custody and returned to the Kigezi-Kajara border.⁸ She appealed to the Bakiga, by harping upon their traditional hostility to Rwanda, by promising them wealth if they would help her discover a lost royal drum called Mahinda, and by setting herself up as a personification of *Nyabingi*. She was supported by a number of Bakiga groups including the Bainika of Bukinda, the Batimbo and Barundo of Kigata, the Bazigaba of Kyanamira, the Bahurwa of Mwisi, the Bagyeri of Kamuganguzi, the Banyangabo of Rwene, the Batwa from beyond lake Bunyonyi, and some others. A number of other groups opposed her, including most of the Basigi, and some of the Baheesi. Mutambuuka, the leader of Baheesi at Bukora, had his house set on fire and his possessions looted by Muhumuza's supporters. Rwagara, the leader of Basigi at Kagarama, was also threatened. Both men appealed for aid to Captain Reid, who eventually came to their assistance and destroyed Muhumuza's army at Ihunga. Muhumuza was captured and taken to Kampala⁹

This first major encounter between British and Bakiga was extremely influential of opinions; and it can be argued that it prevented the British from establishing a useful relationship with local collaborators. Those Bakiga who were involved with Muhumuza were considered to be ineligible to serve the British as loyal subordinates. Conversely, it is sometimes suggested that the Basigi who opposed Muhumuza thereby qualified to become British collaborators. The Ikumba conference of 1912, however,¹⁰ demonstrated that the Basigi were not anxious to enter such a relationship, preferring instead their traditional organisation and their existing independence. On the other

hand the British defeat of Muhumuza demonstrated that the British possessed weapons far superior to those of any local group, and in consequence the Basigi resisted the British by means of passivity, rather than rebelling.

A number of Bakiga groups did oppose the British violently, especially minority groups along the present Kigezi-Rwanda border. The first of these was in 1912, by the Banyangabo of Butare in the South. They resented their loss of independence, the repression of Nyabingi, and the death of many of their kinsmen at the battle of Ihunga. Under the leadership of Rubungo they began their rebellion by intimidating those suspected of favouring the British, some of whom were killed. Captain Salmonson, in charge of the district, despatched Ssebalijja at the end of some soldiers, to suppress the rebels. Ssebalijja set off at night, hoping to catch the rebels by surprise; but information leaked out, and the Banyangabo remembered the force of British arms, and withdrew their live-stock to the German side of the border. The troops found the area deserted. For several days Ssebalijja waited, trying to persuade the rebels to return to their homes, but in vain. After threatening dire punishment for further rebels, he returned to Captain Salmonson to report. Eventually the rebels returned to their homes, and Rubungo surrendered. For some years they resorted to passive hostility, refusing to provide free labour and portage, declining to pay taxes, and pulling down any camp which the British built in their area. This continued until after the First World War, when the British could deploy sufficient force to establish effective control.¹¹

In 1913 a group of Bakiga from Nyakasiru and Kahondo attempted to burn down the house of a sub-county chief at Bukinda, by night. They were driven off by the sub-agent and other Baganda. In subsequent encounters, a number of lives were lost, including those of Bend'owabo and Kyabunduka; and some rebels, including Kabariro, were captured and sent to detention in Kampala.¹² Discontent continued until it erupted in violence in 1914, at near-by Kyogo. The British believed that the Kyobo rising was initiated by the Germans; but it seems that the people simply used the opportunity of the war in order to throw off British authority, on their own initiative. They began by withdrawing support and co-operation with colonial officials, and then moved in to violence. They killed a number of government supporters, severed communications, and attacked the house of the sub-agent, where they were dispersed by fire-arms. The British in Kabale despatched a force under Lieut. Wagstaff. The rebels barricaded the pass leading into Kyobo, and courageously defended the pass with spears, sticks and stones. The Bagina from Kamwezi attempted to come to the support of the rebels, but were cut off by a force under Sergeant Dusman, coming to re-inforce Wagstaff. The rebels were unable to resist fire-arms, and retreated across the border into Rwanda.¹³ It is significant that the British also suspected the Germans of having instigated rebellions by Chandangutsi and Katuregye, whereas recent research demonstrates that the Germans had no important role in those cases¹⁴

In 1915 the Bakara of Kabira, and all the inhabitants of Nyakagabagaba reacted strongly against the tax and labour systems, and the manner of

their collection. They lacked leadership, however, and soon surrendered.¹⁵ In August 1917 the inhabitants of Karujanga in Butare rose in rebellion. Their grievances were similar to those of Nyakagabagaba, and they were particularly incensed at the arrogance of Baganda agents such as Stefano Musoke the sub-agent. The rebels included Bagyeri led by Karwemera, and Barihira led by Tibaryebwa. Musoke heard of an impending attack on his house, and sent soldiers to investigate, but these were killed by the rebels. Before they could launch an attack on Musoke's house, however, Musoke informed the acting D.C. — MacDougall — who despatched soldiers to the area. Some fighting followed, in which Karwemera was killed. The rebels retreated into Rwanda, but their live-stock was captured. Later they returned and surrendered, promising their full support of the British administration. Fire-arms had once again destroyed rebellion.¹⁶

The most serious revolt broke out in the same month, August 1917.¹⁷ Before dawn on the morning of Sunday 12th August, a large number of Bakiga attacked Nyakisoroza hill at Nyakishenyi, burning down houses and killing all the Baganda they could find. Their target was the agent, Abdulla Muwanika, and his possessions and equipment. Muwanika narrowly escaped death, and was eventually rescued by Kisyagali, who evacuated him to his own home some miles away at Katonya, South-West of Nyakisorozo. The rebellion and its suppression cost many lives and much property. Rebel leaders were either sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, or — in the case of Baguma and Bagorogoza — publicly hanged in Kabale.

A brief examination of the varied motives of the leading rebels may prove helpful. A common motive was resentment of alien rule, and a hankering after a lost independence. Baguma, in addition, had personal conflicts with Muwanika, each criticising the other's actions as chiefs. Ruhemba, in whose house the rebels planned their attack, had been arrested in 1912 on a charge of witch-craft, and compelled to live close to the Agent's house. He resented the suppression Nyabingi, and also grieved over the killing of his brother, who had refused to provide food for soldiers. Kaigirirwa, who advised and encouraged the rebels, was leading Nyabingi medium. Ntokiibiri — also known as Bicu Birenga — did not take part in fighting, but had helped to plan the attack, was already widely known as anti-colonial, and the British had been hunting for him for many months. A Muhunde from the Congo, he had been opposed to Belgian rule, and in 1915 he had also assisted Nyindo in his struggle against the British. He was a Nyabingi medium, who had used religious methods of persuasion to incite the people to rebel, and had entered into blood-brotherhood relations with some of them. Among the rank and file, some joined because of religious conviction, some in order to loot property, and others in order to recover their land and expel the Baganda, whereupon pre-colonial freedom might have returned. The D.C. at that time regarded the rising as explicitly anti-colonial. His successor, Philips, came to the conclusion that the rebels were not hostile to colonial rule, but merely to acts committed by Baganda officials. He therefore initiated a policy of dispensing with Baganda assistance as much as possible. Of these two opinions, the former seems to fit better with the opinions of the Bakiga survivors.

An analysis of these risings reveals the following characteristics. First, the intention seems to have been conservative, namely to restore pre-colonial conditions. Second, particular colonial policies created great resentment — notably the suppression of Nyabingi, labour policy, taxation, and the manner of their enforcement. Third, Nyabingi often cropped up as a means of organising and inspiring the rebels. Fourth, the risings were generally very localised, and only Ntokiibiri managed to mobilise significant numbers of people at the same time. On the other hand, the localisation of resistance meant that large numbers of small risings occurred, and therefore the British took a rather long time to establish unchallenged control. Control in the centralised political systems was often achieved much more swiftly. Fifth, the World War facilitated such risings. Sixth, the rebels were at a military disadvantage against European weapons, and they realised that they were at disadvantage.

By 1920, after the suppression of these rebellions, the Bakiga had come to realise the uselessness of further resistance, and it is at this point that adaption began. So rapid was this adaption, that by 1929 all important posts had been adopted, whereby the Bakiga strove to enter into the colonial hierarchy and influence it from within. That strategy was successful in the long run, when the Bakiga regained their independence in 1962, as part of independent Uganda.

FOOTNOTES

1. i.e. Geraud in chapter one, chapter seven by Rwabihigi, Chapter eight by Karwamera and chapter thirteen by Denoon.
2. Oral information, collected April 1970, from Messrs Rhushuga (at Nyarushanje), Kabuga (Ihumba-Rwamacucu-, Karaaza (Kabale), and Ngologoza (Bukinda).
3. Ibid.
4. Described in Ssebalijja's memoirs, chapter eleven.
5. Ibid, and Oral evidence from the late Thomas Rwomushana (Buhumuro) April 1970.
6. Oral evidence of S. Rushuga (Nyarushanje) April 1970.
7. Chapter thirteen, by Denoon.
8. E. R. Kamuhangire and A. Munyuzangabo. *Studies in South-West Ankole*. Makerere History Papers.
9. Oral evidence, collected April 1970, from Messrs Rushuga, Kabuga, Karaaza, Ngologoza.
10. Considered in chapters twelve and thirteen by Ssebalijja and Denoon.

11. Kigezi district annual and quarterly reports. Oral evidence of Karraza and Ngologoza.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid, and H. B. Thomas, "Kigezi Operations", in *Uganda Journal*.
14. Vide chapter seven, by Rwabihigi.
15. Kigezi district annual reports.
16. Ibid, and H. B. Thomas, *op. cit.*
17. Information on this incident depends mainly upon S. F. Brazier, "Incident at Nyakishenyi", in *Uganda Journal* 1968.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

My Early Career.

by Z. Rwandusya.

When the First World War broke out, the British stayed in Kigezi in alliance with the Belgians, in opposition to the Germans. Nyindo rebelled and joined the Germans, until he was captured by the British. The period was also marked by Ntokiibiri's resistance. He was a hero and a nationalist. His nick-name was Bichubirenga, he belonged to the Bungura clan, and he came from Bwintu in Buhunde in Congo. On his way to oppose the Europeans in Rwanda, he came to a place called Mumpimbi, where he met a Nyabingi mugirwa named Itembero, son of Murari (and grand-father of Ngomayundi). He asked Itembero to help him expel the Europeans from Rwanda, and he told him that he possessed a sheep which had the power to accomplish this objective. By this time the War had broken out, and the Belgians were fighting in Nyakabanda and around Bugoyi. Ntokiibiri joined the war and fought against the Belgians. He concentrated on collecting and concealing rifles and ammunition from dead soldiers. At this time he married Nyiramusaba, a Munyarwanda from Mulera. The Belgians suspected him, surrounded him and set fire to his house. However, he cut a whole in the wall and escaped, with severe burns on his fingers and along one side of his body. When his wounds healed, he fled to Kigezi via Kayonza and Kanaba, on his way to Nyakishenyi. There he met Kisyagali and Rwandare, who promised him their support, and so the Incident at Nyakishenyi took place. From there he went first to Congo and then to Nyarutembe where he stationed his forces on a hill named Nyamikumba. At his head-quarters he married two wives: Kibatonga, daughter of Bakaya (and their son who was named Kirabinga died only in 1969), and Kabugu, a Musigi. From there Ntokiibiri went through Kayonza, to a man called Rubembe; and from there through the Kinaba forest to a man called Bikaku, who betrayed him.

It was at this exciting time that some of us joined the King's African Rifles. In Nyakabanda people were made to dig trenches on hills such as Murambi near lake Kigezi, Chahafi on the Kigezi-Rwanda border, Nyakishenyi, and Rutare. At the same time some Bafumbira were sent to spy on the Germans in Rwanda. They reported that the Germans intended to invade Kigezi via Chahafi and Bihungye, so as to attack Kabale fort. Soon afterwards German arms were heard inside the Uganda boundary. The K.A.R. were issued with arms and ammunition, and entered the trenches. Abdulla Namunye (the Agent in Bufumbira) also assembled a group of spearmen, who were concealed behind a small hill named Nyabune, in order to protect them from the Germans' fire-arms. The Belgians commanding this unit set fire to a house so that his men could see their way

into the trenches. Then he wanted to join them, and asked a boy who was working for him to take his white shirt and bring a dark one. In the course of this errand the boy was shot dead by the Germans and fell into the trench with his master's shirt. At this, the Belgians Captain blew his whistle and we opened fire on the enemy. At dawn we advanced and expelled the enemy from their position, finding the bodies of six Africans and a German killed by rifle fire. (Some of our ammunition was found in 1938 by A. Mpagazehe's porters, who were digging on the site of the trenches). The Germans were forced to retreat up through Bakamba to Gafumba, where they were re-inforced and in turn forced the Belgians to retire. In the process they killed Sagini Meya, a Nubian hero fighting on our side. Once again the Germans lost strength, and were forced to retreat up to Ruhengeri, where we captured two herds of cattle and brought them to Chahafi, whence they were moved to lake Kigezi. For a long time the German attacks ceased.

Later the British recruited some young men to go and fight in Tabora. Owing to sickness I did not go, but stayed with Namunye. We were stationed on the Uganda Congo border, on a hill named Bugiro in Nyarute-mbe, while Ntokiibiri's men were stationed on a hill named Nyamikumba on the borders of Congo and gombolola Nyabwishenya.

In 1919 J. E. Phillips became D.C. He liked the people of Kigezi and understood their problems. He immediately set about minimising the maltreatment of the people by Baganda agents. Towards the end of the year he dismissed three Baganda gombolola chiefs for maltreating their subjects, and re-shuffled the remainder. (Before that he had sent the head of Ntokiibiri to Entebbe, to demonstrate that the insurrection was over). He also discouraged the use of Luganda, and replaced it with Kiswahili, for which purpose he invited the services of some Kiswahili-speaking Baziba clerks to help in the administration offices. Baganda who could not speak the language were dismissed and replaced by local people.

Phillips instructed gombolola chiefs to select children to learn reading and writing. The following chiefs responded: Mushakamba sent Kajuga from Nyakabande, P. Zirabugire sent Chuhira and Rwandusya (the author) from Bukimbiri, Ruvuyagwe sent his brother Bihwahwa from Chahi, Miserero sent Gichamwa from Nyarusiza, from Busanza came Sebasaza, son of Hagumakamwe, and other Bajumbura feared to send their children to make contact with Europeans, lest they lose their culture and their colour.

For these eight boys who were selected, there was no specific teacher. We would go on safari with the D.C., and whenever we rested he would order one of his askaris or clerks to teach us under the shade of some trees. We would carry with us a box containing stones for learning arithmetic, and books to use. Once we went with him to Rwanda. At Nyamagana in Buganza we camped out of doors, and the chief gave us a cow for meat. As we slept with meat on skewers a hyena came to steal it; and Chuhira, mistaking the hyena for a dog, tried to scare it away. It bit off his fingers. We did not stay long in Rwanda. In 1920 Phillips appointed

as teacher Aligati Ndirisha, who had studied in Holland. Observing that most of us came from Bufumbira, he ordered the building of the school at Kisoro. He then urged parents to send their children to the new school, telling them that this was the best way to prevent Kigezi from being inferior to the other districts of the protectorate. In response to the appeal came Bariyanga, Bitakaramire and Rwenduru (now ordained) from Bukimbi; Munyamashara, Sebutagwira and Serucuca (now ordained) from Nyakabande; Bisetsa, S. Gashumba, Ndutiye, Serutokye and Bugabo (who was later killed by the servants of a woman named Kantarama) from Chahi; Mbonyiyeze, Sebukweto, Rwanika, Ntauruhunga and Zirarushya (who became ordained and who died recently) from Nyarusiza; and nobody from Busanza. From Kinkiizi came B. Bangirana, D. Rukunya, B. Bwerere and Z. Kagulu. Altogether there were 29 of us, and there was only one teacher.

Meanwhile in 1920 Cooper replaced Browning as Provincial Commissioner for the Western Province, and in the same year most of the Baganda chiefs who had come with Ssebalijja were dismissed, including Ssebalijja himself who was replaced by W. Kagubara who had been gombolola chief of Maziba. In 1921 Phillips returned to Britain, and in 1921 his successor as D.C., Adams, removed the school from government control and placed it under the authority of the (C.M.S.) mission. By then the school had a second teacher, Sila Mabadakazi from Ankole district. In 1924 the school was divided: those from Bufumbira went to Seseme, and those from other counties of Kigezi went to Rugarama. Then in 1928 Phillips returned as D.C. He found the people troubled by his predecessors' orders to burn all 'endaro' huts used in Nyabingi observances. As part of the anti-Nyabingi campaign, the D.C. in 1927 had ordered the arrest of Bitura and his two sons, who were alleged to be devotees of Nyabingi. Regarding the 'endaro' huts, some people claimed that they were only kitchens, and even made fire-places there to support the claim. Phillips immediately reversed the policy. He argued that, if the mission people felt they had a right to destroy 'endaro' huts, people might equally feel justified in setting fire to the churches. That made him unpopular with the Christians, who accused him to siding with the 'pagans'; but Phillips advised the Christians that their best method for conversion was not coercion but persuasion.

He also continued his policy of replacing Baganda officials. Further, he built a school at Mpalo, whose aim was to give instruction in Kiswahili, and where I worked as a teacher in addition to my duties as clerk at the saza head-quarters. The school was under government control, and was attended by Catholics, Protestants and Muslims. In 1929, when he appointed J. Gichamwa as saza chief of Bufumbira, and when he made a number of gombolola chieftaincy appointments, he warned the people against practicing segregation on the basis of tribe or religious belief. In order to discourage tribal consciousness, he appointed chiefs in areas where they were not indigenous. The following Bakiga, for instance, were appointed to posts in Bufumbira: Rwomushana as gombolola chief of Chahi, Rwenduru in Busanza, Komunda in Nyakibingo, Miburo in Bunagana, and Rwabirigi in Nyarutembe. In 1930 Rwomushana became saza chief of Rukiga, and Makombe became saza chief of Ndorwa, an area excised from

Rukiga and named apparently after the drum named Murorwa. Ngologozo became saza chief of Kinkiizi. In the same year W. Kagubala, one of the few remaining Baganda, was dismissed, and the process of indigenisation seemed to be nearing completion. At the same time I was appointed Muluka chief in Rwaramba. By 1930 therefore Phillips's popularity was at its height.

Soon Phillips's educational work began to bear fruit. Some of the pupils were employed in the district administration during the 1920's, including the following:- P. Tibegarika worked at Mpalo saza headquarters. J. Gichamwa worked in the Kabale district office, A. Bihwahwa, W. Bityi, D. Chukiro was the first clerk at Nyakabande gombolola headquarters. I was a clerk in Bufundi, E. Bisetsa worked at Nyakabande before being transferred to Kikungiri, Z. Masozera worked at saza headquarters Bufumbira, and A. Babikonya from Ankole worked at gombolola headquarters Busanza. These are only a few of the names that I can remember, of the first pupils at Phillips's school, who rose to positions of responsibility. Their promotion marked the virtual end of Ganda hegemony in Kigezi, and established and consolidated self-rule in Kigezi. The Baganda, for the first time, began to address us as 'Sebo' — Sir!

Part Five: The Incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda.

The colonial era, during which 'Kigezi' became a recognised and accepted political and administrative entity, also witnessed the demarcation and definition of 'Uganda'. Despite the presence of Ugandans from beyond the borders, as administrators and evangelists, and despite the communications network which connected Kampala and Entebbe to the far-flung districts, it seems as if Kigezi people become conscious of the existence of Uganda only very slowly and imperfectly. The district was a self-contained administrative and economic unit, and inter-action with other districts was at first very limited. An expanding population, however, made it desirable for many Kigezi people to migrate to other districts in search of land or cash employment, and so Kigezi citizens at least became aware of the need for a working relationship with the neighbouring colonial kingdoms of Ankole and Toro.

After the Second World War, here as elsewhere in British colonial Africa, two important political trends could be observed. Power began to be shared with local people at district level, as local councils became democratised. At the same time territorial institutions began to develop, which were eventually taken over by national political parties as they achieved the independence of the dependency. These two trends were not entirely harmonious. In Uganda, so long as territorial political parties remained relatively weak, there seemed no harm in the exercise of power and influence by Ugandans at a local level. With the coming of independence, however, demands became felt for the integration of the districts into something like a 'nation-state'. Roughly speaking, therefore, there was first a gradual devolution of power within Kigezi; and about the time of independence a

fairly abrupt shift from federalism towards unity, which necessarily meant restrictions upon the power of the local councils.

Mr. Paulo Ngologoza, the author of chapter twenty, is uniquely placed to comment on these changes. He was old enough to consider joining Muhumuza in 1911 (though he was dissuaded from doing so); he rose to eminence as a local *saza* chief during the 1930's, when the district administration was localised; and he has been prominent in the life of the district council ever since. He has also been a member of both major political parties, namely the Democratic Party and the Uganda Peoples Congress. Most important, he has always been keen on the preservation of historical information, and has already published a book on the people of Kigezi. His account of the political history of Kigezi, from pre-colonial to post-colonial times, is by one means definitive; but it is extremely interesting to note the events which he considers to be important, and the meaning he attaches to them. Even writing in 1970, it is (for example) significant that there are few references to the Uganda polity, even though decisions by the Uganda government have had obvious and far-reaching effects upon politics (let alone society and the economy) of Kigezi.

Finally, in chapter twenty-one, Mr. Kabuga provides a vivid and entertaining account of "the Banyama-Baboga controversy" of the 1960's. This controversy, between the adherents of a newly-created "Constitutional Head" of the District, and supporters of his political rival, clearly exemplify the trivialisation of district politics after independence. All decisions of much consequence tend to be taken by the national government; while the district councils have little to argue about, except personalities and prestigious positions. But the chapter provides numerous other instances of the incorporation of Kigezi into Uganda. All the members of the district council at least professed membership of a nation-wide political party, either DP or UPC, even if in practice they were committed to exclusively local concerns. Both factions of the UPC seem to have been willing to accept the word of the party president as final. Local political issues were either illuminated or obscured (depending on one's point of view) by the attempts of Kigezi students in the national university to relate them to universalist political principles. The triviality of local politics may be depressing, but is clearly preferable to the secessionist and other disputes which have plagued some other districts. Finally, the good humour and good sense which infuses the final chapter offer perhaps the brightest hope for Kigezi within the wider parameter of an independent Uganda.

Editor.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Politics in the Colonial period in Kigezi.

By P. Ngologoza.

The Bakiga people used to settle in groups according to their clans, each of which had a clan-leader. This clan-leader was always one of the elders of the clan and he was democratically chosen by fellow elders on criteria of his previous achievements, bravery, the number of children he had and his wealth. For example, Mutambuka son of Rutogoogo who was the clan-leader of the Bahefi of Bukera, was a fortune-teller and a brave warrior who had confronted Muhumuza. Also Buhire, son of Bahira, who was the clan-leader of the Bazigaba of the Banyangabo sub-clan, the descendants of Rwene, was a distinguished warrior and he had taken part in the military campaign against Rwanda when it was under Kigeri IV, Rwabugiri. Clan leaders of various clans plus their assistants met and formulated a code of conduct to set guide lines of the social life. They drew this moral code from the prevailing traditions and customs of the Society. The culprits who defied this moral code were punished. The clan-leaders settled disputes between individuals voluntarily and they never charged fees for their services. If one of the parties was dissatisfied with the verdict of a particular clan-elder he appealed to a different elder belonging to the Basigi clan. In such courts of elders, some women reputed for their intelligence were also included. Some parts of Kigezi had rulers instead of clan-leaders, as described in other chapters.

From 1908 to 1929 the Europeans used Baganda to rule Kigezi. In 1920-1929, however, District Commissioner Capt. J. E. T. Phillips brought the Baziba from Bukoba in Tanzania and made them Gombolola Chiefs and clerks. This meant official reports and proceedings of courts ceased to be written in Luganda but in Swahili. However, by 1929 the Baziba and a few Baganda who had hitherto been working with them, were stopped and their places were filled by the indigenous people.

Although these Baganda and Baziba got salaries as any other civil servant, they also got presents (strictly speaking, these were bribes) in form of cattle, goats, beer, food, and other things from the peasants. The peasants also offered their labour to these rulers without payment. When the Saza chief was to visit one of the Gombolola chiefs, the latter instructed the Miruka chiefs and other lesser chiefs to get a young cow, a young bull, a goat and beer to be presented to the Saza Chief. These things were collected from the peasants, and the Gombolola chief secretary "knocked off" some of these things before he presented them to the Saza Chief.

The same respect was accorded to the Gombolola Chief when he toured the Miruka in his sub-county. Any chief who did not treat his superior chief in this manner was usually sacked, and he had no opportunity to make an appeal, since they had no access to the District Commissioner. It was the Saza Chief who was responsible for appointing Gombolola Chiefs, and he only took the names to the District Commissioner for confirmation, but usually his choice was not reversed by the latter.

Disputes were usually settled by the Gombolola Chiefs and the dissatisfied party was free to appeal to the Saza Chief or to the High Court (Koti ya Wiiraya) which comprised all Saza Chiefs and one or two Gombolola Chiefs from each county. From the High Court if one was still not satisfied with the verdict of the case, one appealed to the District Commissioner. Such appeals were extremely vain for fear that if one lost the case, one would be heavily fined or be imprisoned for a long time.

The legal system was polluted by corruption. The Baganda chiefs passed through the weak legal system to help them accumulate wealth. For example, before hearing one's case the Baganda Saza and Gombolola Chiefs first asked one what wealth one had. Then they would fine him according to his wealth so that if he was very rich, they fined him too much, most of which sank into their pockets.

With the introduction of taxation system in 1915, each adult male had to pay 3 rupees (equivalent to 6 shillings) but the natives of Kigezi did not know where to get these rupees from. Thus because they were available in Buganda, the Baganda went and got them and got tremendous property out of each of them. For example, for one rupee, they demanded a goat. Goats and cows got in this way were sent to Buganda, and after selling them at exorbitant prices they returned to Kigezi to buy more.

However, these Baganda chiefs were not entirely bad. Some of them taught people proper ways of going about things, to obey chiefs and leaders and they helped the teachers in their endeavours to teach people how to write and read, in religion and in the improvement of agriculture.

In April 1929 the Colonial Government decided to transfer power from the Baganda and Baziba to the indigenous people and the following were made Gombolola Chiefs:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. Sulemani Rushunga | — | Gombolola Chief of Ikumba. |
| 2. Paulo Kakwenza | — | Gombolola Chief of Bufundi. |
| 3. Paulo Muhimba | — | Gombolola Chief of Bubare. |
| 4. Paulo Nyindo | — | Gombolola Chief of Kambuga. |
| 5. Asumani Kanyoma | — | Gombolola Chief of Rwamucucu. |
| 6. Yohana Bukwirwa | — | Gombolola Chief of Kamwezi. |
| 7. Kabaari | — | Gombolola Chief in Rujumbura. |
| 8. Andrea Buhweire | — | Gombolola Chief of Kashambya. |
| 9. Paulo Ngologoza | | Gombolola Chief of Kikungiri. |

In 1930 (January) the Colonial Government replaced the Baganda Saza Chiefs with indigenous people and the following became Saza Chiefs:

1. Tomasi Rwomusana — Saza Chief of Rukiga.
2. Mukombe — Saza Chief of Ndorwa (a part which was cut off Rukiga in 1930).
3. Paulo Kangwagye — Saza Chief of Kinkiizi.
4. James Gichamwa — Saza Chief of Bufumbira (but even before 1930 Gichamwa was the Saza Chief of Bufumbira).
5. E. S. Karyegyesa — Saza Chief of Rujumbura.

The substitution of the Baganda and Baziba with the indigenous ones seemed to be for the better: payment of bribes and exploitation of the masses was reduced. They also supervised the building of bridges and roads, for example, the Kabale-Kisoro and Nyakishenyi-Kanungu roads. They again pressed the Government to build schools, dispensaries (e.g. Bukinda and Kanungu Dispensaries) and they were also asked to supervise the government reforestation scheme.

Thanks need to go to the following hardworking Saza Chiefs: E. S. Karegyesa, Tomasi Rwomushana, Mukombe, Paulo Kangwagye, Paulo Rukyeribuga, Paulo Kakwenza and the Gombolola Chiefs who were working under them. Also deserving thanks are Y. S. Kiwanuka, a Muganda who kept on giving advice to the indigenous chiefs and Capt. J. E. T. Phillips and other District Commissioners after him for concentrating on the development of Kigezi.

In 1959 the Government established a system whereby the Saza Chiefs no longer would be chosen by the people and also whereby the Gombolola, Miluka and 'Bakungu' chiefs, clerks and 'Askaris' were no longer chosen by the Saza Chiefs but by the Appointment Board. The District Councillors were hostile to this Board and they demanded its immediate dissolution so that they themselves chose members to constitute it and therefore assume powers over it. This controversy was manifested in form of personal hostilities whereby some of the Councillors began burning houses and coffee shambas belonging to the members of the Appointment Board. In September, 1960 the Government decided to give the Councillors the power to elect the leaders of the Appointment Board.

Kigezi got the first Secretary-General in 1946. He was chosen by the District Commissioner in consultation with the Saza Chiefs and the Local Government Departments. He was to be chosen from the Saza Chiefs, and I was chosen as Secretary-General. The time I was chosen as Secretary-General had not witnessed the rivalry between religions and tribes, otherwise it would have been difficult for me to be chosen.

I was immediately confronted with the problem of resettling people from Kigezi to less populated areas of Uganda. I wish to thank Mr. E. S. Karegyesa, Mukombe, Rukeribuga and P. Kakwenza, for helping me.

In the same year (1946) the Kigezi District Council came into being. And its first chairman became Mukombe, who was the Saza Chief of Ndorwa. The District Council comprised of 46 members, all of whom were chosen by the District Commissioner, with the help of Saza Chiefs. After a short time the Central Government directed that the Chairman of the District Council automatically be the Secretary General, so I took up the Chairmanship. In 1952 the District Commissioner was empowered to elect the Secretary General and I was returned into the office.

In 1956 the Secretary-General was chosen for the third time. By this time the District Council (the body to elect the Secretary-General) had grown in numerical strength from 46 to 61. This time, elections of Councilors in some Gombololas was characterised by trouble and in Maziba and Kashambya people fought during elections. These controversies were brought into the District Council. This time F. Kitaburaza who had been the Saza Chief of Rujumbura was elected the Secretary-General, and automatically the Chairman of the District Council. Kitaburaza held this office for 5 years, and at the end of this period the Legislative Assembly directed that the Secretary-General be appointed by the Appointments Board. These five years were characterised by hostilities between Catholics and Protestants up to the extent of rumours spreading that I had brought poison from the Pope in Rome to distribute to Catholics so that they kill Protestants. One day I found a man waiting for the bus and when I offered to give a lift he refused for fear in case his fellow Protestants saw him in my car while I was a Catholic.

In February, 1961 the Appointment Board elected Mr. K. Kikiira as the third Secretary-General. In 1964, however, the Central Government directed that the Secretary General be elected by the District Council and in January the same year Mr. Bitwari was elected the fourth Secretary-General. Mr. Komukoryo was elected the Administrative Secretary. Meanwhile the friction between Catholics and Protestants and various tribes gained momentum. Some of the Catholics Chiefs were dismissed on grounds of their faith.

October 1964 saw the election of the Rutakirwa Engabo Ya Kigezi (the Shield of Kigezi) as the Constitutional head of the district. Mr. J. Bikangaga, who had been a teacher in Makerere College School occupied the position. During the period when he was the Constitutional head of Kigezi, the tensions between tribes and religions were eased, following his appeal to the people of Kigezi to put a halt to such hostilities. He vacated his position as the Constitutional head of Kigezi, with the Kings of the Kingdoms in 1968, following the 1966 Constitutional changes.

Despite the fact that Mr. Bikangaga tried to calm the religious and tribal storm in Kigezi, there arose two factions, Baboga and Banyama, claiming allegiance to Bikangaga and Lwamafa (who was then a Minister in the Central Government) respectively. These factions resulted from a party made for the Rutakirwa at his residence. Cows and goats were slaughtered. On another day Lwamafa slaughtered a bull in a party he made for his supporters. Then it was rumoured that Lwamafa had actually

slaughtered the bull which belonged to the Rutakirwa. From then onwards those who had gone to Lwamafa's party were called Banyama (meat-eaters) and those who had gone to the party at the Rutakirwa's residence were called Baboga (Vegetarians). Although it seemed to be a simple matter at the beginning it provoked a lot hatred between the two factions. Lwamafa, in his capacity as a Minister tried to cool the hatred; President Obote on his tours also tried to condemn such factions but there wasn't any immediate ease of the situation.

In 1965, March, Mr. Mukombe-Mpambara was elected by the District Council as the Secretary-General, and he was immediately labelled as 'Omuboga'. He, however, tried to ease tensions between the 'Banyama' and 'Baboga' but he failed.

In 1965, November, Mr. E. Mbareba was elected to replace Mr. Komukoryo as the Administrative Secretary. Komukoryo was rejected by the District Council to the extent that some members of the Council locked him out of his office. The District Commissioner and Lwamafa tried to intervene but the Council was firmly set to oust Komukoryo, whom they accused of encouraging tribal and religious factions. The Minister of Regional Administration intervened and directed that Komukoryo be relieved of his duties while Mukombe-Mpambara was promoted to the Chairmanship of the National Trading Corporation.

In 1969, Mr. J. Bitunguramye, formerly a teacher, was elected as the Secretary-General. He proved to be a capable man, fundamentally opposed to the religious and tribal rivalries and against the Baboga — Banyama hostility and we wait to see the results of his efforts. My observations have led me to conclude that the tribal, religious and factional frictions emanate from a very small clique of selfish people whose tongue is sugary while actually it has venom. They aim at personal aggrandisement and achievement of personal honour and respect.

The District Council sent 4 names to the Minister of Regional Administration for final confirmation on who should be the Chairman of the District Council. The Minister confirmed H. Bitakaramire. The Councillors were against the Minister's choice and in defiance chose J. W. Rwagalla as the Chairman of the District Council. This triggered off confrontation between the two men, each of whom thought he was the chosen person to occupy the office of Chairmanship.

Faced with this dilemma, the members of the Council (before the session) stood up to say prayers to God to help them and solve this crisis. But as they prayed, Rwagalla closed his eyes while Bitakaramire never closed his, with the aim of strategically positioning himself where he could sit in the Chairman's chair when prayers ended. Thus as soon as prayers were over Bitakaramire sat in the Chairman's chair when prayers ended. Thus as soon as prayers were over, Bitakaramire sat in the Chairman's seat. Rwagalla not knowing Bitakaramire was sitting in the Chair, sat in it (without looking back) only to find himself sitting on the lap of the former.

None of the two was willing to give way to the other, so that the District Commissioner and the O.C. respected the Minister's decision and therefore forcibly took Rwagalla off his opponent's lap and forced him out of the Council Hall. The Councillors became riotous and the police arrested on of them, Mr. Zendeire. The 62 Councillors who wanted Rwagalla to be the Chairman went to Kampala to see the President of the UPC about his matter.

The majority decision was respected by the President of the UPC and Bitakaramire was relieved of his duties after 6 months to be replaced by Rwagalla.

CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

The Banyama-Baboga Controversy.

Charles Kabuga.

Politics has proved beyond doubt that man is incalculable. In the words of Soltau "It was the same crowd that cried 'Hosanna!' and 'Crucify!'"

Listening to the radio commentary on the day the Rutakirwa² was welcomed to Kigezi, in 1963, there was no doubt about his popularity. One might easily have concluded, without being challenged, that the Rutakirwa would reign undisturbed until his retirement. Far from it. Shortly after his arrival, forces began to be felt which were luke-warm towards him personally, and towards the institution itself. They operated in the background and caused discomfort to the Rutakirwa's supporters, who were driven to seek the sources of trouble, but were unable to locate any person who could be branded anti-Rutakirwa without sufficient proof. To ensure that no innocent person was accused, the Rutakirwa's supporters laid down certain conditions. For example, in 1964, at the place in Kabale where All Saints' Church now stands, District Councillors belonging to Uganda People's Congress (UPC) were made to swear allegiance to the Rutakirwa in an interesting ceremony. Refusal to swear was taken as proof that the Councillor was opposed to the Rutakirwa. As if that were not enough, any politician beginning a political speech had to greet the people with "Uhuru na Rutakirwa" or "UPC na Rutakirwa" or 'Rutakirwa Weenka' — that is to say that the word had to be mentioned to show the speaker's loyalty to the Rutakirwa, or else he would be heckled and if possible prevented from delivering his speech.

A number of politicians felt that this cramped their political style, and preferred to use their own methods of rousing popular support. They did so, however, at their own risk. In every political gathering some people made it a duty to count the number of times the speaker used the word Rutakirwa. The number was used as an index of enthusiasm or hostility or luke-warmness. It was dangerous for a speaker to omit the word altogether.

Who held this important and powerful post? The man was Mr. John Bikangaga, a Science graduate who had been headmaster of Kigezi High School before going to Britain for further studies, after which he returned to be headmaster, as before. His simplicity, omnipresent personality and confident manner, won him respect not only from the pupils but also from his staff and from the people of Kigezi as a whole. He resigned as headmaster at the end of 1955, to be the first Uganda headmaster of a school offering a Higher School Certificate course. At the same time he had an

opportunity to serve as a back-bencher in the then Legislative Council of Uganda. He was also appointed Chairman of the Kigezi District Appointments Board, a post which made him even more popular with the majority of people in Kigezi. His impartiality won him confidence of the people who might otherwise have resented him. All of this he gave up to serve Uganda in a higher capacity as the Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission. This post, in turn, he gave up in order to become Rutakirwa Engabo of Kigezi, after passionate wooing by notable people in the district who insisted that he was their choice for the post.

Why was it necessary to woo him? The necessity was epitomised in the astute remark which he made just before taking up the post: that he did not know why Bakiga³ wanted him to rule, when they had always been republicans and more independent-minded than the people who had kings. Implicit in that remark was the fact that his task was going to be difficult. To the joy of many people he accepted the challenge.

An important point needs to be noted here and that is that those people who liked and respected Bikangaga as a person also respected the institution. They might not have given it the same respect had it been occupied by anyone else. Conversely, those who disliked Bikangaga disliked the institution as well. Amongst those hostile to the institution were some progressive, educated young men who wrote letters to the press asserting that the Rutakirwa had no function except giving a few presents and speeches and waving to people on important occasions. There was potential danger sooner or later, though there was a 'honeymoon period' before those who opposed either the man or the institution revealed themselves in their true colours.

Matters were complicated, and the honeymoon brought to an abrupt end, when Mr. Bikangaga contested the Regional Chairmanship of the UPC. Some people argued that a Rutakirwa (whom they saw as a king and father) should be above party politics, because he was constitutional head of a district which contained two political parties, namely the UPC and the Democratic Party (DP), and that in moments of difficulty both parties would look to him for solutions to their problems. It was feared that DP supporters might be discriminated against, because the Rutakirwa would be a party man keen to advance his party's cause. Those who took the opposite view argued that the Rutakirwa-ship was an institution and Mr. Bikangaga a person. In his private capacity he could legitimately contest the chairmanship. They accused their opponents of being too ignorant to distinguish between an institution and a personality. Secondly, they felt that a Rutakirwa in a UPC government ought to be a party man so that no one else might claim to be superior to him in any respect.

The retiring Regional Chairman was Mr. John W. Lwamafa, holder of a Makerere Teaching Diploma, who had been on the staff of Kigezi High school while Mr. Bikangaga was headmaster, which may have given Mr. Lwamafa an unusual perspective in looking at the Rutakirwa. Secondly, while Mr. Bikangaga had been abroad for further studies. Mr.

Lwamafa had become headmaster of the school. Before Mr. Bikangaga's return, Mr. Lwamafa had entered politics and could therefore claim to be politically the senior of the two. Further, he had been Regional Chairman of UPC and was doing well, having become a Minister in the UPC cabinet and having therefore come close to the heart of UPC decision-making. He and his supporters felt that he was politically better qualified than Mr. Bikangaga, and they feared the consequences if the Rutakirwa decided to contest the election.

When eventually Bikangaga decided to contest the election for the Regional Chairmanship, Lwamafa determined to gain re-election. Much canvassing went on behind the scenes, and the more the people campaigned, the more they were divided. Some people were shocked that Lwamafa should stand against the Rutakirwa, interpreting this as open opposition and an insult to the office which Bikangaga held.

The UPC Youth Wing already existed. They had previously been ineffective, but now decided to become dynamic. They had formed a Regional Executive, and like any new broom they decided to sweep clean. They became very instrumental in the election of Mr. Bikangaga as Regional Chairman. There ensued great political confusion, as Mr. Bikangaga was henceforth Rutakirwa, UPC Regional Chairman and — of course — Bikangaga. Mr. Lwamafa and his supporters, however, were profoundly unhappy: but he remained a minister in a key ministry — that of Regional Administration. He was determined to teach his opponents a lesson. From the start, also, he had been indifferent to the institution of Rutakirwa, as was very evident at the installation of the Rutakirwa on October 31st 1964.

UPC Youth Wingers had played a significant role in Bikangaga's victory. They felt also that UPC could only be strengthened if the mother party worked hand-in-hand with the Youths, who would provide the necessary dynamism (if not recklessness). There is no doubt that the Youth Wing contributed positively, for example by composing and singing UPC songs, which had tremendous emotional power and which won some DP converts to UPC. They were, however, as reckless and irritating as they were convincing. Sometimes they harassed people in order to make them give in to their whims. This style of operation widened and sharpened the divisions between the two groups.

The hostility between the two groups was precipitated by elections to the District Council on 5th January 1965. Mr. Bitwari, the Secretary General of the Council, had been identified with the Lwamafa faction, and his appointment as Secretary General was a hint of future developments. He was certainly a member of UPC, but because of his association with Lwamafa he was regarded with some suspicion. The Bikangaga faction felt that the election of one of themselves was necessary if harmony were to be created. They feared that, if Bitwari were elected to the Council, he would contrive to have his name sent to the Minister of Regional Administration (who was, of course, Mr. Lwamafa), who would automatically sel-

ect him as Secretary General. Though Bitwari stood as the UPC candidate in his constituency therefore, his candidacy was resented by the Bikangaga group. Bitwari, on the other hand, was so determined that he succeeded in being elected unopposed.

When news of his victory broke in Kabale, the Bikangaga group was panic-stricken, while Mr. Bitwari and his supporters decided to celebrate in a big way. His excitement had many causes. First there was the joy that comes of any success, however small. Second there was the justification of his efforts. He had won the election despite the wishes of his colleagues. To crown everything, he was now eligible for re-appointment to his post as Secretary General. With a little more effort he could get men to propose his name to the Minister, who — being of his faction — would presumably appoint him. He therefore felt entitled to be excited in a big way, especially as this would have the side effect of spreading alarm and despondency among the Bikangaga faction. This effect was largely achieved. He and his friends organised a motorcade through Kabale to his residence, which unfortunately was near and opposite the residence of Mr. Bikangaga. Not surprisingly, in the excitement some people harneged Mr. Bikangaga. The insults fell on the ears of Bikangaga's supporters, who were already disturbed by Bitwari's success. The Youth Wingers therefore took it upon themselves to retort to what they considered hooliganism. They wrote a strong letter to Lwamafa, whom they regarded as the core of the faction, acting to take revenge for his defeat in the Regional election. They warned Mr. Lwamafa that they "would not tolerate your irresponsible, aggressive and impudent actions towards our beloved Chairman, who also is our Rutakirwa." He was further accused of engaging in manoeuvres "calculated to undermine a UPC Government, manoeuvres tinged with hooliganism" The letter asserted that joy over Bitwari's success ought to have been extended to the success of all other victorious UPC candidates who were returned unopposed. The letter concluded interestingly that, if Lwamafa were the enemy of the Regional Chairman, then he was also the enemy of the UPC and the country . . .

Mr. J. B. Kwesiga, who was then a student of Politics at Makerere, obtained a copy of this letter, and saw it as raw material for a political scientist. He perceived some confusion of institutions and personalities. He could have replied, within the limits of academic freedom, and exercising his Political Science knowledge, pointing out the confusion. However he over-stepped the limits of academic freedom and suggested that the Youth Wingers were uneducated. He added that "nobody can suggest that the UPC Chairman and his executive were displeased at the results — though the facts seem to imply so." He wondered how this could be, when Bitwari was the party's official candidate, presumably chosen without malice. He also wondered why the Chairman and his executive did not share in the jubilation, but rather complained that other UPC members rejoiced. He considered the letter to the Minister as merely an empty threat which need not move him. His letter got to the Youth Wingers, who ignored it. The significance of this rejoinder was that Kigezi factionalism was spreading to Makerere, where the supposedly uneducated Youth Wingers found some

support, and the enthusiasm of the students from Kigezi was channelled into district affairs.

Then on January 12th an anonymous circular was widely circulated in and around Kabale, entitled "Abanya Kigezi Tweterane Okurwanirira Rutakirwa". It called on all Kigezi people to unite and defend the Rutakirwa. The authors said that they were compelled to write because of four factors which they alleged had ruined Kigezi. They also wished to use the opportunity to warn the people responsible to desist. The first factor was that, when the Uganda Prime Minister visited Kigezi in 1964, he was supposed to attend the feast organised for him by the whole district, at the residence of the Rutakirwa. On the very day, Mr. Lwamafa had organised a feast at his own house, also for the Prime Minister. As the Prime Minister was a visitor to the District, no private arrangements ought to have interfered with the District programme. If Mr. Lwamafa had wished to give a feast for the Prime Minister, they asserted, he ought to have invited him privately, or to have feasted him at Entebbe where they both lived. Secondly, they objected to the jubilation over Bitwari's victory, and to the insulting words hurled at the Rutakirwa on that occasion. Third, they listed the names of people who were supposedly hostile to the Rutakirwa, and accused them of breeding evil thoughts. The fourth factor was the most historic. It was alleged that Lwamafa had slaughtered a cow belonging to the Rutakirwa, given him as a present during an official tour, and eaten while celebrating Bitwari's success. The cow's name was "Rutendere". To dramatise the affair, there was a cow-hide in the UPC office, which was alleged to have been obtained from Lwamafa's house shortly after the slaughtering of Rutendere. The fourth factor captured people's imaginations like an infectious madness. Women, Youth Wingers and others anxious to ridicule Lwamafa's faction began to sing songs about the stealing and butchering of Rutendere. Because of the songs, those listed in the circular wanted to show that they had no knowledge of any such cow. They tried hard to exonerate themselves, but no-one would listen to them. Since the Rutakirwa's faction refused to listen, the Lwamafa faction saw no reason to go on explaining.

In Kigezi, to eat meat, one had to be a 'man' and well-to-do, having either money to buy meat or skill to hunt for it. Where the head of a family lacked money and hunting skill, his family ate no meat but had to live on vegetables ("emboga") which were easy to find and cheap to buy. The people listed in the circular ultimately decided to hit back: when they were accused of eating meat, they retorted that only 'men' could eat meat. From then onwards those who were alleged to have eaten the meat ("enyama") were called Banyama — meaning that they had eaten the meat of Rutendere — and their opponents were called Baboga, implying that they could not afford meat. The Banyama no longer felt apologetic, but expressed pride in being skilful or clever enough to eat meat. At beer parties the division tended to break out into fighting.

Meanwhile the District Council elections had been completed, and the division was transferred to the Council. Mukombe-Mpambara⁴ had out-

witted the other politicians and he easily won the election. Even before the election he was the obvious choice for Secretary General. But the Banyama were a thorn in the flesh and even Mpambara could not afford to ignore them. The new method of appointing a Secretary General was as follows. Three names had to be sent by the District Council to the Minister, who could choose any one of the three and appoint him Secretary General. From the same list he would choose the Assistant Secretary General. Ordinarily his choice was guided by the number of votes given to each of the three candidates, but he was not obliged to be so guided. Though Mpambara was the obvious choice, his name had to be forwarded with the names of candidates who were obviously unsuitable. To be doubly sure that the Minister made no error, Mpambara had to be given many more votes than anyone else, and the man selected to be Assistant Secretary General (Mr. John Bitunguramye) rather more than the third man on the list. The Minister made no mistake, but gave the Council the two men they wanted.

A further problem remained: the District Council had to have a Chairman, appointed in the same manner as the Secretary General. Three names were duly forwarded: Mr. John Rwagollo, Mr. H. Bitakaramire, and Mr. Karaaza.⁵ Rwagalla, whom the Councillors ear-marked as their candidate for Chairman, was deliberately given a massive majority of votes. Bitakaramire, ear-marked for Deputy Chairman, was given few votes. The third candidate was Mr. Karaaza, a very old and illiterate man, whom the Minister could not possibly appoint. Just before the names were forwarded, the Baboga (including both Rwagalla and Bitakaramire) agreed that, should the Minister reverse the order of preference, either Bitakaramire or Karaaza would stand down from the Chairmanship.

The Minister acted swiftly. Bitakaramire was appointed Chairman, Rwagalla Vice Chairman, and Karaaza was not appointed at all. The Minister had reversed the order of preference, and the majority of Councillors much resented his decision. The only consolation was that Bitakaramire would stand down, and the minister would have to appoint Rwagalla whether he liked to or not. Bitakaramire, however, on receiving the letter of appointment, saw no reason for standing down. First, he was a loyal UPC man; second, he had as much education as Rwagalla; third, he was a Musigi. The third reason was probably the most weighty. When, in 1912, the British had allocated posts in Kigezi, Rwagara, a Musigi, had declined to become a chief.⁶ Subsequently the clan had felt shame that its eminence had been given away. Accordingly the Banyama and the Basigi who disliked Rwagalla (a staunch Muboga) ridiculed Bitakaramire and told him that standing down would bring shame to him, comparable to the shame brought upon the Basigi by Rwagara.⁷ Bitakaramire was convinced. When he was summoned to the Rutakirwa's house to clarify his stand, he refused to go. This change of heart had been anticipated by the Banyama, who quickly made Bitakaramire feel at home in their camp. They assured him that Lwamafa's decision was final, that all that was needed now was to convene the Council and begin business, and that he could not afford to sacrifice the tremendous monetary rewards involved in the post. The Baboga were shocked at this behaviour, but they calculated that they formed a majority of the Council.

and they believed that they would find some way of disposing of the unwelcome Chairman.

The Council was convened on Wednesday 17th March, 1965. Several private meetings of both factions preceded the meeting of the Council. The Youth Wing remained solidly supporting the Baboga. First the Baboga planned that Rwagalla should go early to the Council chamber and sit in the chair until the Councillors assembled for business. The plan leaked to the Banyama, however, who threatened that Bitakaramire would sit in the chair all night on the eve of the meeting. The Banyama abandoned that idea, however, when they realised that they had great influence (through the Administrative Secretary) on the Kigezi District Administration askaris, who could prevent anyone entering the Rukiiko Hall. The idea leaked to the Baboga, who were much disturbed. The Youth Wingers conceived it their duty to assist the Baboga by launching a reign of terror outside the Hall in the morning, thereby preventing Bitakaramire from entering the Hall: they assumed that, once inside, he would enjoy parliamentary immunity. That idea was abandoned in turn, because the askaris were instructed to guard the Hall and cane anyone disrupting the peace. The Baboga then agreed that they would all go to the Hall at the appointed time and sit down. Rwagalla would be seated anyway, since there would be two chairs on the platform, for the Chairman and for the Vice Chairman. As the Chairman came in, the Baboga would hold the door and prevent his entry, while Rwagalla conducted business. The Banyama, on the other hand, were confident that they would be able to control proceedings.

When it was time for the meeting to begin, the Youth Wingers drove around the building singing songs and reigning terror, but keeping their distance from the askaris and their canes. Soon every Councillor was seated, Rwagalla on the platform in the Chairman's seat. Then Mr. Bitakaramire began to enter, and the Baboga carried out their plan of holding the door. As he came in, Councillor Zendeire of Kihiihi sprang from his seat, grabbed him, and for a few seconds held him at the door. Officer in Charge of the police rescued Mr. Bitakaramire by hastily taking Zendeire to gaol. That did not frighten the other Baboga, who kept on shouting, determined that Bitakaramire should not Chair the meetings. While Bitakaramire stood puzzled, Rwagalla wasted no time in calling the Councillors to stand for prayers. They all responded: and while the prayers were being said, Bitakaramire quietly seated himself in the Chair. When "Amen" was said Rwagalla found Bitakaramire already in the seat. He could not now quit the stage, as that would have been too demoralising for himself and for his supporters. Accordingly he sat down in Bitakaramire's lap, and for a while it looked as if Bitakaramire would burst under Rwagalla's weight. Rwagalla looked furious. That, together with his size, and his indignation that Zendeire had been taken to gaol, had infuriated him altogether. The police must also have been confused at this unprecedented development. The Baboga were determined to remove Bitakaramire by hook or by crook. There was a great deal of shouting, until eventually the District Commissioner and the Officer in Charge of Police came to rescue Bitakaramire.

The D.C., Mr. Kamwaka, pointed out that Bitakaramire was legally the official Chairman.

Sixty-two Councillors who continued to support Rwagalla chose to go to Kampala to see the President of the Party. The other seven, who supported Bitakaramire, also went to Kampala to see the Party leader. In the afternoon of 17th March the bus carrying the 62 Councillors left Kabale for Kampala. It was a sad sight, since it meant that brothers had entirely failed to resolve their differences: on the other hand, if a solution were found, the brothers might be re-united.

When the Councillors reached Kampala, they resolved that, as this was no laughing matter, they should all stay together in the bus, suffer together and present their grievances together, even those who had friends with whom they could stay comfortably. These resolutions were honoured. The Party President being a busy man, kept them waiting before he saw them. Telephone messages flew between Kampala and Kabale: the Baboga in Kabale wished to know if the President had seen them, and if so what he had said, and if not, why not. They suggested that the 62 Councillors should not return to Kabale unless they resolved the issue. Anxiety mounted when a telephone message announced that the President of UPC would see them soon. During this delay the Banyama were constantly being reassured by their seven men in Kampala that the President was refusing to meet the Baboga, and was reluctant to reverse his Minister's decision, since that would be equivalent to a vote of no confidence in that Minister. That story was plausible and circulated widely through Kabale, alarming the Baboga.

At last the UPC President found time to see the 62 Baboga, and news flew to Kabale at once that the President was solving the problem. Mr. Ezra Rwendeire, a prominent photographer, had loaded his camera and took the opportunity to photograph the President meeting the Baboga. These photographs would prove that the meeting had taken place, and convince doubting Thomases. In the parliamentary buildings Obote the UPC President sat and listened to the councillors' problems. After listening to them he told them "The ball is in your court". Some Councillors, in awe of Obote, nodded in agreement, pretending that they understood him. Some others distrusted the vague phrase and asked him to call a spade a spade: they wanted to be assured that, if they played the ball, their opponents would not be allowed to play it back. They understood that they needed only to pass a motion of no confidence in Bitakaramire, select three more names and send them to the Minister. They then drove back to Kabale where they were anxiously awaited, singing UPC songs as they went. They said nothing to anyone, but drove straight to the Rutakirwa's residence to report. Every Muboga rushed there to hear the news, but all they were shown was the photographs, which were also posted outside the book-shop, but which proved only that a meeting had taken place. People were more interested in what Obote told them. However, there was no language in which they could explain what the President of UPC had said, and they could not openly admit that Bitakaramire was still Chairman. A number

of Baboga began to doubt whether the councillors had ever reached Kampala at all. The Banyama meanwhile rejoiced that Bitakaramire was still in office, and that the Council could only meet on his invitation — though probably on the initiative of the D.C.

Bitakaramire duly convened the Council. The 62 Baboga were heart-broken and panicky because they could not predict what would happen. The Banyama, after all, were also intelligent men and knew what they were doing. Their confident manner worried the Baboga considerably. The meeting opened and the first item on the agenda was to fill the place of Mr. Bitakaramire (as the Chairman had to resign as an elected member, which was supposed to make him impartial). The second item was a vote of no confidence in the Chairman, an item which had only been placed on the agenda after a great deal of trouble. The first item was despatched very quickly, while everyone looked forward to the second item. The Baboga meanwhile were annoyed by the jubilation of Banyama outside the Hall, that Bitakaramire was conducting business within. Tension was increased and the division deepened. After the first item, however, Bitakaramire adjourned the meeting until 2 p.m. Baboga fears were increased, and the afternoon was slow to come. That afternoon Bitakaramire was again in the Chair. Just as Rwagalla, who had kept his seat for fear of disheartening his supporters, so he could not allow a vote of no confidence to be passed, but must hold on for his own group. He came in accompanied by the D.C., and told the Councillors that he had allowed the motion of no confidence to be included in the agenda, under Kigezi Standing Orders No. 17 (i), and that the motion would be discussed that afternoon. He requested the members to listen to the D.C. briefly, before proceeding with the agenda. The D.C. proceeded to tell the Councillors that the Chairman had been appointed by the Minister, and that he had not held office long enough to make errors which would warrant a vote of no confidence. It seemed to the D.C. that such a motion would therefore be a vote of no confidence in the Minister, rather than a vote against the Chairman. He advised them therefore not to proceed with the matter, but stressed that this was merely advice rather than anything stronger. Pointing out that if they did proceed to a vote, the Chairman would have to leave the Chair, he wished them God's guidance and left the Hall.

Bitakaramire resumed the Chair, and asked the Council to heed the D.C.'s advice, suggesting that such a motion would break the law. This he said amidst cries of No!, No!, Impossible! He then adjourned the Council *sine die*. To dramatise the affair, the Administrative Secretary, the Clerk to the Council, Mr. Bitwari (the former Secretary General), and seven other members (including two D.P. members) walked out with him. The Deputy Chairman, Mr. Rwagalla, then took the Chair. He informed the remaining members that they still formed a quorum, and that they could elect someone to record proceedings in the absence of the Clerk of the Council. Councillor Tugume was unanimously elected as temporary Clerk. Rwagalla then asked the proposer of the motion of no confidence to proceed; and Councillor Kakuramatsi (UPC Buhara B) introduced the motion of no confidence in Bitakaramire. It was seconded by Mr. Mukombe-Mpambara (UPC Kabale

B). Speaking to the motion, Kakuramatsi could not see how his motion could be illegal, as Bitakaramire had alleged. He quoted Section 12 (7) (c) of the Local Administration Ordinance, No. 23 of 1962, to substantiate his point of view. What were the reasons for wishing to remove the Chairman? He was accused of refusing to attend to lots of motions and business which members wished to discuss. For example, said Kakuramatsi, the Chairman had thrown back to the deliverer, a letter suggesting a motion for discussion. That action, he continued, was contrary to the Section 16 (2) of the District Standing Orders. Secondly, it was stated that he had refused to convene the Council within 21 days of a request from more than a quarter of the members of the Council. Thirdly, he was accused of refusing to receive registered letters from the Post Office, and Registered Letter No. 4394 was quoted. This letter requested the inclusion of a motion of no confidence in the agenda. Fourthly, he was accused of failing to obey the Party Whip (by refusing to stand down as Chairman) and since the UPC was in power, the Party had a right to take disciplinary measures.

Two motion was supported by all Councillors present. The Banyama outside, however, were sure that no legal action could be taken inside, and they also locked up all the books so that nothing could be recorded. The Baboga, however, believed that Bitakaramire was now out of office: 53 had supported the motion, none had opposed it, and there was one spoilt paper, so that more than two-thirds of all members had supported the vote of no confidence. At that point Councillor Katashaya (UPC Bugangari), basing his action on Standing Order 17 (i) requested permission to move a motion of urgency, namely to ask the Council to select two names from which the Minister could choose a new Chairman. Councillor Paulo Ngologoza seconded the motion, which was accepted, and the Chairman asked for nominations. Rwagalla, Karaaza (from the previous list of candidates), Kyarabakabize and Bisagavu were nominated.(7) Rwagalla vacated the Chair to Councillor Rwenduire to preside over the election, and Rwagalla received 54 votes, Karaazo 16, and Kyarabakabize and Mrs. Bisagavu one vote each. The names of Rwagalla and Karaaza were accordingly forwarded to the Minister, and every Councillor (including Karaaza) was convinced that the Minister would have no further choice in the matter. Indeed he had not, and was obliged to appoint Rwagalla as Chairman, which was a terrible blow for the Banyama, as well as being demoralising for the Minister himself, who had refused to see facts from the beginning of the dispute. The longed-for Rwagalla was now Chairman, and the Baboga were happy beyond description — while the Banyama were intensely unhappy.

Under Rwagalla's chairmanship, the Council was re-convened to select names for the post of Vice-Chairman. The Councillors easily agreed to nominate Mr. Ngologoza, who was duly appointed by the Minister. The Council could at last turn to business, and the Baboga triumph seemed complete. To the delight of the Banyama, however, Rwagalla did not serve for long. He was a teacher, and the new act governing district administration prevented teachers from participating in politics. Rwagalla, either alarmed or else fore-seeing the future trend of political life, resigned in order to remain a teacher. Also affected were kings and constitutional

heads, whose posts were abolished in 1967. The Banyama rejoiced in the down-fall of the Rutakirwa, especially as their own lynch-pin remained in office as Minister. But in those revolutionary times it was difficult to know who could keep his job for any length of time, and that made factionalism less intense, even though the fire died down rather than being extinguished altogether.

When President Obote introduced new methods of electing members of parliament (Document 5), the factions burst into flames once more. This time the Baboga were determined to eliminate the Banyama completely, while the Banyama planned a come-back. It could be guessed that the confrontation would be very bitter — and so it was.

What caused the bitterness? There was a rumour that, if a prospective UPC candidate for parliament failed to win election as chairman of the constituency party, that failure would be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the candidate. Another rumour suggested that victors in the chairmanship elections would become members of parliament immediately, to save the country from repeated elections. That rumour forced candidates to devote all their resources to the election of constituency chairmen. Campaigns took the form of Baboga-Banyama contests before the new system was fully explained to the people.

The campaigns were therefore fought in the old constituencies, of which I would like to refer to Kigezi South-East, which beautifully exemplifies the Banyama-Baboga conflict. Minister Lwamafa and Mr. Rubabaza (a prominent trader in Maziba, but lacking much formal education) contested it. The Baboga supported Rubabaza, and gave the Minister and his men a hard time, though in the end Lwamafa won by a narrow majority. Mr. Rubabaza attributed his defeat to electoral irregularities, and petitioned Party headquarters challenging the result. The petition, however, was overtaken by events. New constituency limits were drawn, and Lwamafa felt it safer to transfer his efforts to Kigezi South where he expected greater support, leaving Rubabaza un-opposed in the old constituency. Moving to Kigezi South, however, was jumping from the frying-pan to the fire. There Mr. Mukombe-Mpambara's organisational ability ensured his victory, and the defeat of Magaba (who was contesting the election on behalf of Lwamafa, having agreed to stand down for Lwamafa when necessary.⁽⁸⁾ Magaba's heavy defeat discouraged the Banyama faction, which was not successful in other elections.

The only hope for the Banyama, therefore, lay in the real parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in 1971. It can therefore be argued that the ushering in of the Second Republic (January 25, 1971) saved Kigezi from imminent bitterness. The coup cooled the heat of election fever. How happy we should be if such divisions disappeared for ever. However, so long as human beings continue to differ, factions will be inevitable, and these are usually the sign of a healthy society. They can, however, be dangerous if the governmental structures are not strong enough to control their effects. In the case of Uganda, and particularly of Kigezi, James

Madison⁽⁹⁾ would warn that nothing was being done to control the effects of factionalism, so that the results were likely to be disastrous. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania would have suggested that people be given the same ideas. That suggestion has many limitations. In Uganda, Obote was trying to give people the same ideas by introducing the Common Man's Charter for a socialist mode of development. Sadly it can be stated confidently that this is a useless method for eliminating or controlling factionalism. Human beings are different, and cannot be made to think alike. We require different ideas to check each other for the betterment of society. When ideas are reduced to one set, this may impede the development of society.

In the case of Kigezi, ideas were reduced to two, revolving around the Banyama and Baboga 'groups. Being two rather than many, they slowed down the proper development of the district. The tax-payers' money was wasted in arguments over posts, when the councillors would have been better employed in deliberating useful matters. Secondly, the conflict weakened UPC as a political party, and was demoralised. Had the DP been organised, UPC was vulnerable to attack. The conflict, for some citizens, represented a challenge which UPC failed to resolve, and therefore they regarded UPC as a dead letter. Third, the uncontrolled conflict led to destruction of property. For instance, the crops of several people including Ngologoza, were destroyed. Mr. Karibwende's Mercedes-Benz was burnt to ashes while he was Financial Secretary of the district.

But it is unfair to say that these factions had no positive contribution to the district's development. From the inception of the conflict, no-one could take anything for granted. Having been told many lies in the past by politicians, the people have become more critical, and more difficult to convince. The factions also increased the level of participation. Every individual was branded a Muboga or a Munyama, and therefore had to participate, since it was impossible to hold aloof. This had the effect of making many people calculative political beings. It could also be argued that the factions had the effect of improving the standard of housing, since people tended to build iron and brick houses which would be safe from attack! Finally, the conflict tended to minimise clan, ethnic and religious tensions, all of which were cut across. Nonetheless one would wish that the factions had never come, as they were much more destructive than constructive.

FOOTNOTES.

1. R. H. Soltau, *An Introduction to Politics*, p 9.
2. The title of the constitutional head of the Kigezi administration.
3. "Bakiga" in this paper is used to refer to all the ethnic groups in Kigezi, and not simply those of Ndorwa, Rukiga and Rubanda.
4. The son of a prominent colonial chief. He later became Chairman of the National Trading Corporation.

5. Karaaza, though not a Councillor, could still have become Chairman.
6. See chapter by Ssebalijja. Mr. Rwagalla asserts that he changed the spelling of his name, so as to avoid association with the other Rwagara.
7. Mr. Kyarabakabiza, like Mr. Karaaza, entirely lacked formal education, and could not conceivably accept the post of Chairman.
8. Mpambara won 670 votes, Magaba only 80. (Uganda Argus, 26 ix 1970.)
9. Once President of the U.S.A., author of Federalist Paper 10.

APPENDIX I

Kabale Kigezi,

January 23rd 1942.

To The District Commissioner Kigezi

Sir,

I respectfully beg you to take my supplication in your entire consideration.

I was dismissed from my chieftainship and my 'Bukama' of Kayonza and I was prevented to settle in my mother land Kayonza any more.

When I saw the D.C. of Kigezi a few years ago, he sent me to the Lukiko of Kigezi centre but the chiefs did not realize my difficulties I talked them; of being out of my mother land for ever, nevertheless could they think how my children are going to get lost and our race too.

As you are a new D.C. in this District and the leader of us all Kigezi people important and unimportant. I have found it good to let you know those difficulties which hampered me from my mother land and I am looking for your help.

I am the "Omukama" of Kayonza I descended from my ancestors: Kalengye Nyakarasi I, Karamira, Byabagambi, I, Rwengabo I Ndahura, Kubaire, Muhayirwa, Yeye, Komuramuko, Rwabiraro, Rutareka, Nyarubakura, Rwengabo II, Nyakarasi II and others.

I came to the throne after my father's death Nyakarasi II who was killed by our enemies being left in their land by Belgians. After the death of my father I ruled Kayonza in peace for a short time under the Belgians' control. After some years British Government came and took the country. I continued ruling I served all Officers.

When Bwana Salvans was ruling when the Great war broke up why I say that the war broke up it is because it was the time in which we were asked to send loads of small melt flour for the people who were fighting. The war went on worse, owing to my stupidity I went to refuge and I became a refugee. After the war had ended I came and reported to Bwana Bacdonglo at Kabale's office. But as one Mukoki called Sulemani Ntangamarara who was the Agent at Kinkizi had reported me badly to him already Bwana Bacdonglo told me that I shall be taken to another part of a country my wife, a son, a maid and I were taken to Masindi.

I spent five years at Masindi. I asked the P.C. Masindi to ask the Governor of Uganda if I can be allowed to come back to my country. I was leased.

When I reached Kabale I found Bwana Adams as the D.C. Kigezi he sent me to Mparo so that the Saza Chief Kagubala look after me and to be taught how to rule and work as a Gomborora Chief. Mr. W. R. Biteyi was an interprator and I hope he knows it. After eight months I was sent to Kayonza I ruled for five years and my work was quite satisfactory all the D.Cs pleased with my work as it was going ahead and I thought of promotion to the Saza Chief. But when Agent Sulamani Ntangamarara saw that he became jealous and the hatred towards me took place. Bad people were given to me I mean clerks and Askaries. I was silent.

In the month of July 1927 my Gomborora Askari burnt himself in the jail when I was away about 9 or 10 miles going to burry a man called Chocho who fell on his spear and died. I was called I tried to write all the matters till the Saza Chief came when he came he regarded me as one who burnt the jail with Owomuruka Rwaihugya s/o Kahunu who was my representative. He tried to put us to the death chiefly myself by finding the false witness when the D.C. Mr. Trewin found out that he chose chiefs from another County Rujumbura to try the case and those chiefs were Omwami Eresto Musoke, Eriya Kakondo, Daudi Kakohakohe, and Ndabahwerize. The case was tried and we were innocent. All happened to me about that case your intepretor Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga knows it and Owesaza Mukombe.

Agent Sulimani Ntangamarara was not satisfied in the same year he told my Gomborora clerk to write bad words about me and send a letter to the D.C. via him. That was done at once the clerk accused me for being with drums of "Nyabingi" he wrote to the D.C. Secretary. When I was in the Lukiko of Itware at Kabale the D.C. and Sulimani Ntangamarara sent a police man and other people and my clerk Aguste Kawesa who was a friend to Sulaimani Ntangamarara who served with him in the war and whom he had promised to be given my Gomborora being a Muganda from Koki where Sulimani came from in Masaka they went to search Nyabingi they went privately to my mother's house and searched but no any Nyabingi article was found such as Engonoka and stick of steel they caught charms of children and other things. When my mother was brought to Lukiko they said that I kept a witch so I must be blamed for it. I was given a little time to ask why I was to be blamed and I asked they refused. I was dismissed from Gomborora Chieftainship and I was told not to live in Kayonza. Many people who were in the Rukiko refused the judgement like Mukombe, Zaribugire, Erasto Musoke, Karegyesa, Rutaisire, and others but Sulimani Ntangamarara refused with other Baganda who were big chiefs. My mother was put to jail for 9 months imprisonment!!!! I was given Government money to build houses I built at Kijuguta about 1 mile from Kaabale Rutchuru road. Bwana D.C. gave me the work supervie Boma porters, and keep the Station, I did the work well. When Bwana Philippes came and I told him my difficulties he sent me to Kayonza and wrote

to the Saza Chief at Kinkizi Sulimani Ntangamarara to give me about 30 men for one month to build houses for my people. The Saza Chief Abudala Namunye was a friend of Sulaimani Ntangamarara who had been asked by force to retire and they were all Baganda from Masaka Abudala Namunye refused me to go to Kayonza and I was told to build in the Gomborora of Kirima. I built at Nyamiyaga in Kirima. I am living in Rujumbura now-a-days.

But what hurts me most are why am allowed to live in any place I like but not in Kayonza??????

I was accused for having drums for Nyabingi but those drums were ROYAL DRUMS and Bwana Admus allowed me to beat them when I wanted and I showed them to him Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga knows it as he was an interpreter.

I know I am old and I am not asking for a Gomborora but sir if my child can come to you and serve the British Empire can you not send him in my position?

Can I not go to Kayonza and settle there or given a small work if you find it possible. If not I have sons from which I can mention one's name whom you can think about.

Sir, your interpreter Omwami Yowasi Kajwiga and Omwami Mukombe can let you know all which took place between Agent Sulamani Ntangamarara and I from 1924 to 1928 because Mr. Yowasi Kajwiga was D.C's interpreter during that time and Omwami Mukombe a Gomborora Chief Kirima.

If you can be pleased to see your servant I am going to wait for a week time, if you tell Omwami Kajwiga to call me I shall come to you at once.

I respectfully beg you to remain,

Yours obedient servant,

Sir,

MUGINGA BYABAGAMBI II.

RUHWABIROBA.

APPENDIX II

Gomborora Kayonza,
Kinkizi,
P.O. Box 3,
Kabale.
May 1961.

The Chairman,
Appointments Board, Kigezi &
D.C. Kigezi.

We people who have signed this letter, together with the people of Kayonza, request you and your colleagues to consider and execute the matter we are putting before you.

We request the return of Mr. Matiya Muginga Rwankwenda to us. We trust and like him.

When the British occupied Kigezi, they found that we had a ruler, Muginga Mr. Rwankwenda's father. Muginga ruled us very well, he encouraged us to work hard for our own development, he protected us from our enemies, he encouraged us to become Christians when Missionaries came and helped the young Churches, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, in all possible ways he died, he left his children with us. We trust them and we are obliged to remember and respect them for the good things their father did for us.

Mr. Rwankwenda helped us very much, he had schools built for our children. Although there were some misfortunes, he made a good foundation for us. That is why we trust him and have always struggled to have him returned into Government, so that he may come and work with us again. The following know it Messrs. F. K. Kitaburaza Ex. Secretary General, Mr H. Kakuyo Saza Chief Kinkizi, the Archdeacon E. K. M. Balaba. and many Government A.D.C's. and D.C's. who come to our Gomborora and whom we always ask about Mr. Rwankwenda's return to us as a Chief. We do not want Mr. Rwankwenda to disappear from his mother land. We therefore ask you to give him even the simplest job so that he comes back to Kayonza

We have not put this before you because we do not like those who are ruling us, but because we only want you to help us and return Mr. Rwankwenda to us.

Please excuse us for anything that may not be right in our letter.

Yours faithfully,

S/d Yoweri Nduru	of Burema Kirima
S. Kabare	„ Nyamiyanga Kayonza
Bigambo,	„ Bujengwa Kayonza
D. Katunguru	„ Mukono Kayonza
Karenzyo	„ Mpungu Kayonza
Museruka	„ Kyeshero Kayonza
Bangi	„ Murengye Kayonza
Rwanga	„ Omukigombe Kayonza

